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Dr. Martin Luther.

1883.

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THE LIFE
OF
MARTIN LUTHER,

BY
JULIUS KÖSTLIN,
PROFESSOR AT HALLE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

EDITED BY
JOHN G. MORRIS, D. D., LL.D.

BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED.

PHILADELPHIA:
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1883.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING attempted in my book entitled "Martin Luther, His Life and Writings," 2 vols., 1875, to combine all the material given in the present work, with the requisite historical and critical authorities, and to indicate the subject matter of all the separate writings of Luther, I now offer this life-picture of Luther to the wide circle which we designate as the cultured readers of Germany. Those who may desire a fuller statement of the individual facts, and their verification, are respectfully referred to that larger work. In only a few instances have I been led by later investigations to make any material change in previous statements.

On the Anniversary of the Ninety-five Theses of Luther,
October 31, 1881.

J. KÖSTLIN,

PREFACE OF THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

"At last we have a Life of Luther which deserves the name. . . . for such a biography Europe has waited till the eve of the four hundredth anniversary of his birth."

It was thought eminently proper that the book thus noticed by the distinguished historian Froude, should be put into the hands of English-reading admirers of the mighty Luther, and it is accordingly hereby presented to them. It was also thought peculiarly proper that it should appear in this year, in which uncounted multitudes in almost every quarter of the world are celebrating the 400th anniversary of his birth, which occurs on November 10, 1883. And it is considered highly becoming that the translation should be made and published in the United States, in which we have now probably a million of English readers connected with the Lutheran communion.

With all its acknowledged excellencies, I am still somewhat apprehensive that the book will disappoint the expectations of a class of readers far too large, whose taste has been vitiated by some biographies of Luther presented in a style too dramatic, and who are constantly looking for unwholesome mental excitement, instead of true, solid, historic information. This book differs from all other popular biographies of Luther, in developing the inner life of the man, and in presenting briefly his ideas on all the great subjects on which he wrote. Everybody has read in other biographies that Luther has written, for instance, "An Address to the Christian Nobility," "On the Babylonian Captivity," "Popery the Work of Satan," and many others, without knowing anything more than the titles; but in this book the reader will find an analysis of each important writing, and thus learn what Luther really said. This course necessarily divests the book of that superficial, and I may say, dramatic character which is the chief attraction of so many popular lives, however good and reliable they may otherwise be. Our book requires the reader to exer-

cise his powers of attention, and sometimes his close scrutiny, in order to appreciate the full meaning. Hence, to some, it is feared, it will be a dull book. But it was not written for that class of readers, and hence the author, in his brief preface which appears on a preceding page, says: "I now offer this life-picture of Luther to the wide circle which we designate as the *cultured* readers of Germany."

The work of translation was committed by the editor to different hands in order to have the book published during this year. An attempt has been made to harmonize the slight diversities in style, but in looking over the printed pages, after it was too late to make more changes, I regret to observe some sentences that might be improved, and some German idioms that might be more Anglicized. Still, the translation is fair, and presents the meaning of the original distinctly enough.

The publishers have omitted the plates by which the original is illustrated as not adapted to our American taste, although they are interesting and valuable as specimens of the wood engraving of the Reformation age, for they are mostly *fac simile* copies of the masters of those times. In place of them, some modern and artistically finished illustrations have been substituted, which we are certain will secure the approbation of our patrons.

Some pages of *fac simile* chirography of some of the Reformers have also been omitted, because the reproduction of them would contribute nothing to the value of the narrative.

The Luther likeness which we offer is somewhat different from those which are common in the books. It represents our hero in the full maturity of his manhood, and in the stern simplicity of his character. It was selected from the editor's private collection of Luther likenesses, and is a copy of a copper plate engraving, admirably executed for that day; for its date is the second century after the Reformation, and is hence 183 years old.

We thus send forth this volume, which we hope will be properly esteemed by the Church, and be regarded as a valuable contribution to the monumental honors to Martin Luther by which this year will be distinguished.

JOHN G. MORRIS.

Lutherville, Md., September 1, 1883.

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BOOK I.

LUTHER'S CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH TO HIS
ENTRANCE INTO THE MONASTERY.

1483-1505.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND PARENTS.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483. He was the first child of his young parents, HANS and MARGARET LUDER. The father was working in the mines at that place, for a livelihood. Shortly before this event, they had moved to Eisleben from Mōhra, the old ancestral home. The village, also called More and Mōre in the ancient chronicles, lies between the low hills in which the Thuringian forest mountains terminate whilst extending westward towards Werrethal, six miles south of Eisenach, and about three miles north of Salzgungen, near the present Werra railroad, which unites these two towns. Thus Luther originates from the very centre of Germany. The Elector of Saxony was the civil ruler of that country.

Mōhra was a modest village, without even a resident priest, and had only a chapel, which was an outpost of the neighboring parish of Hausen. But the population consisted for the most part of substantial farmers, who owned dwellings, barns, horses and cattle. Besides their farming operations, mining was pursued in the fifteenth century, and copper ore was quarried, of which the still existing piles of dross and slate give ample evidence. The soil was not productive for farming, much of it being boggy or moory, from which the name of the place is derived. Those who owned the land and cultivated it, were compelled to labor severely. They were a robust and rude people.

Luther descended from this agricultural community. He once thus expressed himself to his friend Melanchthon, "I am a farmer's son; my father, grandfather and ancestors were all real farmers," upon which Melanchthon playfully observed, that if Luther had remained at the home of his forefathers, he might perhaps have become the magistrate of the village, or an overseer of the others around him. There were several families of this name in Mōhra and in the vicinity. The name at that time was written Luder also Ludher, Lüder and Leuder. The present

form we first find proceeding from Luther himself, after he had become a professor at Wittenberg, before he entered upon his reformation controversies, and from him first the other branches of the family adopted it. The name is not originally a family name, but a personal name equivalent to Lothar, which according to its etymology means, one who is distinguished as a leader.

The family was doubtless very ancient, and a very remarkable coat of arms has descended as an heir-loom, for some generations. One side represents a cross-bow, with two roses near it. It is to be seen on the seal of his brother Jacob, at the present time, on documents once in his possession. The origin of this coat of arms is unknown. The composition would lead to the conclusion that the family had been absorbed by another, or that two families held property in common.

We have documents that are cotemporaneous with Luther's life, which show that even some of his own relatives partook of the rude character of the farmers of Möhra, and were always ready to protect themselves even with their fists. This family firmly maintained its reputation for boldness during many years, and amid the severe calamities and terrible convulsions which befel Möhra particularly in the Thirty Years' War. At the present time there are extant three Luther families at that place, all of whom are farmers even to this day. There are some persons who imagine that there exists a remarkable likeness to the facial features of Martin Luther in the surviving members of this family. Not less significant is the fact, that one who is well acquainted with the population, discerns in them a general and peculiar sensibility and determination of will. The house which Luther's grandfather inhabited, or rather that which was afterward built upon the site of the one formerly occupied by him, is still pointed out, but without any positive certainty. Near this old family dwelling there has been erected a bronze statue of Luther.

Hans, Luther's father grew up to manhood in Möhra. His grandfather's name was Heine, an abbreviation of Heinrich; we hear nothing of him during Luther's life time. His grandmother died in 1521. The family name of Hans' wife was Ziegler. We afterwards find near relatives of hers in Eisenach. The opinion long entertained that her maiden name was Lindeman, originates from the error of changing her name with that of Luther's grandmother.

The inducement which led Hans to settle in Eisleben was the prospect of securing support by laboring in the mines, which were at that time in a prosperous condition at that place. The mines at Eisleben and generally those in the Duchy of Mansfeld, to which Eisleben belonged, were very productive, and were vigorously operated, which was not the case with those at Mōhra.

Soon after this two new additions were built to the town of Eisleben, rendered necessary by the immigration of miners. Hans, as far as we know, had two brothers and probably some sisters, among whom the paternal estate was to be divided. He was the oldest of the brothers, of whom one, Heinz, the owner of a farm, was still living in 1540, ten years after the death of Hans. But in Mōhra the right of primogeniture by which the paternal estate falls to the oldest son did not exist, but either an equal division was made, or as was the custom in other places, the property fell to the youngest. An observation of Luther made in later times would lead to the same conception, that according to civil law the youngest son was the heir of the paternal property. This might have awakened in the mind of the farmer's son, an inclination to seek more ample remuneration in another place and in another sphere of labor. In carrying out this purpose, he gave evidence of the self-reliant, enterprising, energetic character of the family to which he belonged.

We dare not here pass by the fact, that another reason has been given by some for his departure from the paternal home. Frequently, even in our days, and by Protestant writers also, it has been maintained that the father of our reformer fled from Mōhra on account of the commission of a heinous crime. The fact is simply this: During the life time of Luther, his friend Jonas was embroiled in a violent controversy with a Catholic opponent, named Witzel, who said: "I could call the father of your Luther a murderer." More than twenty years afterwards, an unknown author of a book published in Paris, called the reformer, "the son of the Mōhraen Murderer." In that and the following centuries, neither friend nor foe could find any trace of such a report. It was only in the beginning of the eighteenth century that all of a sudden, and in an official report on the mines of Mōhra, an assertion was made, founded upon an oral legendary tradition, that Luther's father had accidentally killed a man with his own bridle, who was watching his horses in the pasture. Even in our

days some travelers have heard the story related by some inhabitants of Möhra, and the very meadow in which the terrible event occurred was pointed out. It is only on account of the claim to importance which this tradition has lately made, and not because it can in any way be established, that allusion is made to it at this time. For of that which may now be heard related in Möhra, nothing was known until twenty or thirty years ago by the residents; but it was first introduced by strangers, and since then it has undergone various modifications. The flight of a felon from the Saxon Möhra into the Duchy of Mansfeld, which borders upon it very closely, and at the same time was subject to Saxon jurisprudence, was absurd, and is not at all consistent with the respectable official position which Hans Luther very soon acquired, as we shall see hereafter. The very fact that this report, upon which Witzel based his accusation, was not unknown to his opponents, connected with the other fact that they never made any other use of it, is a clear proof that they had no confidence in the truth of it themselves. Luther, during his life, was compelled to hear from them, that his father was a heretical Bohemian; that his mother was a common, loose woman; that he himself was nothing but a brat, begotten by the devil from his mother. How much rather would they not have spoken of his father as a murderer, if they had had good grounds? We cannot determine what may have given rise to the report of the bad character of the father. Nothing more is known than the two ancient intimations alluded to above, and even they do not indicate any connection between the alleged crime and the removal to Eisleben.

The mother carefully cherished in her memory the day as well as the hour of the birth of her first born. It was between 11 and 12 at night. According to the prevailing custom of the times, the child was baptized on the same day and in St. Peter's church. It was Saint Martin's day, and the infant was named after him. The house of his birth is still remembered in Eisleben; it is situated in the lower part of the town, very near the church above named. Various destructive conflagrations which have devastated Eisleben have left this house undisturbed, and yet of the original building there now stand only the walls of the ground story; a room facing the street is still shown as the one in which the reformer first saw the light. The church, soon after

his birth, was rebuilt, and then received the name of Peter and Paul; the present baptismal font is said to be a relic of the ancient edifice.

When the boy was six months old, the parents moved to the town of Mansfeld, several miles distant from Eisleben. The rush of miners to the latter place, will easily explain why the expectations of Luther's father were not there fulfilled, and why he hoped for better success at the other most important locality of that productive mining district. Here, in the town of Mansfeld, or, as it was called Valley of Mansfeld, on account of its position and to distinguish it from the Monastery of Mansfeld, he became associated with a population which was exclusively devoted to mining labor. The place lies on the borders of a stream, hemmed in between hills, which are the initiatory eminences of the Hartz. Above it towered the beautiful, imposing castle of the Dukes, to whom the place belonged. The character of the landscape is more severe, the atmosphere less temperate, than that of the vicinity of Möhra. The population of the Hartz region is in general more rude than that of Thuringia.

In the beginning, Luther's parents were compelled also in Mansfeld to encounter many difficulties. Luther in later years once said, "my father was a poor hewer,* the mother carried all her wood upon her back, so that she might warm and rear us; their life was one of severe toil and extreme privation; at the present day, people would not hold out long in the midst of such suffering." We must not forget, that gathering and carrying wood in that way was at that time less than at present a sign of poverty. Gradually their circumstances improved. All the mines belonged to the Dukes, who rented out certain portions, called smelting fires or ovens, giving to some contractors hereditary leases, and to others temporal. Hans Luther was by this time able to secure two ovens, but only for a definite period. He must have risen faster in the esteem of his fellow-citizens than in his temporal circumstances. The magistracy of the village consisted of a justice of the peace, a so-called Master of the Valley, and the Four "of the Congregation."† Among these *Four ones*, we find his name in a public document as early as 1491. The

* They called themselves mine hewers, slate hewers.

† Literally *The Four ones*—*Quartette* would not convey the idea.

number of his children became large enough to keep him in constant anxiety about their support and training. There were at least seven of them, for we know three brothers and three sisters of our Luther. This family of Luthers did not elevate itself to the rank of the rich families of Mansfeld, who possessed hereditary *smelting fires*, from which grade alone the Valley Masters were chosen. But the Luthers were in daily intercourse with them in business transactions, and to some extent were on intimate social terms with them. The old Luther was also personally acquainted with the Dukes, and stood high in their esteem. In 1520, when the most calumnious reports concerning his origin were put in circulation by his enemies, the reformer publicly appealed to this personal acquaintance of his father and of himself with the Dukes. Hans Luther, in the course of time, became the owner of a respectable dwelling house in the principal street of the village. Although frequent alterations have been made in it, a small portion of the original structure remains to the present day. We still see a doorway with a circle neatly hewn out of sandstone, which above bore the Lutheran coat of arms with a cross-bow and roses, and the inscription 1330. Doubtless, Hans' son Jacob had the stone circle placed in that position, in the year in which his father died, when he took possession of the house. In later times, the stone has become so disintegrated that the arms and inscription are scarcely discernible.

We first become acquainted with the personal characteristics of the parents, after they had participated in the reputation and celebrity of their son. On different occasions, they visited him at Wittenberg. They conducted themselves modestly and with dignity among his friends. Melancthon reports of the father, that he everywhere secured respect and affection, from the purity of his character and behavior. Of the mother he says, that the worthy woman was distinguished for all matronly virtues, genuine piety, and daily intercourse with God in prayer. Luther's friend, Court preacher Spalatin, designated her as an unusually pious, exemplary woman. The Swiss Kessler, in 1522, describes both parents as being small in person, far outreached by the son Martin in "size and bodily proportion." He says of their complexion, that it was of a "brownish hue."

Five years later, Lucas Cranach painted the likenesses of both, which are yet to be seen on the Wartburg; they are the only

ones now extant.* The features of the faces of both have a certain degree of austerity and decrepitude, the result of long years of severe struggle and toil. The mouth and eyes of the father indicate an expression of active energy and firm decision. He also, as his son Martin observed, maintained to his old age, "a vigorous and enduring bodily constitution." The mother has more the appearance of being exhausted by years, but yet submissive, calm and reflective; her meagre face and prominent cheek bones bear the aspect of energy tempered with mildness. Spalatin was astonished, the first time he saw her in 1522, at the striking resemblance between her and her son, in the features of the face and in general attitude of the body. In fact, there is a certain likeness between him and her picture, in the eyes and the lower part of the face. From what we have heard of the personal appearance of some of the Luthers living in Möhra in later times, there must have been a strong likeness running through the whole family.

* Strange to say, in later years, and even in our own times, a picture of Martin Luther's wife, in her old age, has been wrongly taken for a likeness of his mother.

CHAPTER II.

LUTHER AS CHILD AND SCHOOL-BOY, TO 1501.

THERE is an entire absence of authentic testimony, beyond his own account, of the early training and mental development of the child of these parents in Mansfeld, as well as of the surrounding circumstances in which he lived, and of the external influences to which he was subject. To whom, at that place, did it ever occur that this obscure lad would become the subject of future history? In reference to this matter, we can only employ some of his own incidental and occasional expressions, which we meet in his writings, or which have been reported from his own lips by his friends, as Melanchthon, or Ratzeberger, his physician, in later days, or his pupil, Mathesius, and others. They are very imperfect; but still sufficient for a comprehension of the state and growth of his inner life, which prepared him for his future vocation. And significant and important may we regard the fact, that his opponents, who from the beginning of his Reformation contests have sedulously traced his origin, and endeavored to find something unfavorable to him in that relation, have never yet brought to light any historical facts concerning his childhood and early youth. He had many enemies at the place of his home and that of his parents, and besides one branch of the Mansfeld Dukes continued in the Church of Rome, and naturally opposed the Reformation and Luther; and yet they have never discovered anything relating to the history of his early youth. This shows distinctly that there were at least no unfavorable reports to be traced to the home of his parents or his own juvenile years to be brought up against him in after life. In the absence of anything they could themselves find out, some of them have absolutely taken pains to pervert to his disadvantage a portion of that information which we have received from himself.

We sometimes speak of a paradise of childhood. Luther himself, subsequently, was rejoiced and edified by the cheerfulness of children, who know nothing of the anxieties of the body or the spirit, and who happily and freely enjoy the favors of their God.

Yet, in the reminiscences of his own life, there is not reflected the sunshine of such a childhood, so far as he has expressed them. The children, especially the first born, were compelled to participate in the privations which the parents at first endured in Mansfeld. As they spent their days in severe labor, and practised the most stringent self-denial, so the whole tone of the household was austere and exacting. The straightforward, faithful, and industrious father had honestly resolved to make an able man of his son, who eventually became greater than himself; demanded also from him everything a son owed to his father, and strenuously insisted upon the recognition of his own paternal dignity and authority. After his death, the Reformer in touching words spoke of the tender regard which his father showed for him, and the affectionate intercourse which he enjoyed with him. But there is nothing surprising in the fact, if in his early youth, which demands the most tender solicitude, he experienced the immoderate severity of the father. He was, says he, once so severely chastised by him that he fled, and became alienated from him until the father won him back again. In conversations on the training of children, Luther also quoted his own mother as an example of parents who overstep the bounds of moderation in punishment, even with the best intention; who make no discrimination, and who have no regard to the degree of the enormity of the transgression, or to the various dispositions of children. His mother once beat him so severely as to make the blood flow, merely because he had taken an insignificant nut. In the discipline of children, he remarks, there must be a judicious discrimination, and they should not be treated with equal severity for committing a fault about a nut, or a cherry, as for stealing money or anything else valuable. His parents, he says, meant it all well; but they confined him so closely, and treated him so harshly, that he became shy and timorous. What he experienced was not heartless cruelty, which blunts the juvenile mind, and prompts it to secret crafty devices. This well meant austerity, which really was grounded on moral earnestness, engendered in him a sternness, as well as tenderness of conscience, which led him afterwards deeply to bewail every sin against God, and at the same time constantly to mourn over presumed personal sins against himself, thus often aggravating that into a transgression in which there was no moral wrong. He also gave another evidence of

the result of the parental discipline exercised over him, by going into a cloister and becoming a monk. Thus he expressed himself upon this subject, although at the same time he declares that it is better to use the rod upon children from the cradle than to let them grow up without discipline, and that it is an act of great mercy to compel the submission of young people, although it may cost trouble and labor, and require threats and stripes. His own experience, derived from the poverty of his father in the beginning, led him to observe the sons of other people, and to express his admiration of those who work themselves up from the dust amid much privation, having nothing whatever to pride themselves in, but who learn to submit to their condition and trust in God, who had endowed them with good minds.

Of his relation to the younger members of the family, an acquaintance of the household, and especially of his brother Jacob, informs us that from their childhood he cherished for them the most tender brotherly affection, and that, according to the statement of his mother, he exercised upon the younger portion of them the most salutary influence by word and deed.

He was sent to school in his early years. A lad named Oember, a few years older than young Luther, frequently carried this weakly child to and from school in his arms, a proof—(naturally not, as a Catholic opponent in the succeeding century thought) of the presumption that the lad was forced against his will to school, but of the fact that he was then of that tender age, when to be carried was agreeable and proper. Many years afterwards and only a few years before he died, he wrote in a Bible of his "good old friend," then a citizen of Mansfeld, a reminiscence of this fact. The school-house, the lower story or foundation of which is still extant, stood at the upper end of the village, which was in part built on very declivitous streets. The child was there taught not only reading and writing, but also the elements of Latin, without doubt, however, in an imperfect and mechanical style. In after years he speaks of the terrible vexations to which pupils in those days were subjected in declining and conjugating, and in other onerous tasks. The severity of his teacher far exceeded the austerity of his parents. The school-masters in his time, he says, were tyrants and executioners, the schools were prisons and hells, and nothing was learned in spite of stripes, trembling, terror and tears. He himself, he tells us, was once

beaten fifteen times in one forenoon without any fault of his own, for not being able to recite what had not been taught him. He was compelled to go to this school until he was fourteen years old.

His father then determined to send him to a better and more popular institution. Hence he sent him first to Magdeburg. Unfortunately, the school which he was there to attend, is not now known. His friend, Mathesius, reports that the school at that place, meaning probably the city school, was "highly celebrated above many others." Luther, himself, once says in later years, that he there went to the school kept by the *Null Brethren*. These were men who "had things in common"—a society of pious priests and laymen who strongly bound themselves together, yet without vows, to promote their own spiritual welfare and to lead a holy life, at the same time to labor for the religious benefit of the people, by preaching the divine Word, giving instruction, and in the general care of souls. Thus it was that their special attention was bestowed upon young persons. The newly awakened interest in the revival of Roman and Greek literature, and the efforts made to advance scientific culture, found active agents in these men. A colony of these *Null Brethren* existed in Magdeburg, which had emigrated from Hildesheim, their principal place. It does not appear that they had a distinct school of their own, but they rendered their services to the city institution. To this establishment, the miner Luther sent his first-born in the year 1497. His attention was directed to it by his friend, the mine bailiff, Peter Reinicke. He sent him there with Reinicke's son John, or as Mathesius expresses it, *by* or *through* this son. With this John, who subsequently became an important personage in the mining business of Mansfeld, Luther maintained a life-long intimacy. But his father allowed him to remain only one year in Magdeburg and then transferred him to a school in Eisenach. We do not know whether the expectations excited by the high character of the establishment at Magdeburg were not fulfilled, or whether other motives, probably the prospect of diminished expense, led him to this change; all that concerns us now is his zeal in securing greater advantages for the education of his son. We have no account whatever of the instruction which he there received.

Ratzeberger alone reports a single fact which occurred at

Magdeburg, and which he heard from Luther. As a physician it appeared to him remarkable. Luther once suffered from a burning fever and excessive thirst. The drinking of water was forbidden him during the height of the fever. One Friday, when everybody in the house had gone to church and he was left alone, he could no longer endure the raging thirst, and crept backwards on his hands and feet down into the kitchen, and there drank a whole pitcher of water with frantic delight, and then with great difficulty again reached his room. He then fell into a deep sleep and when he awoke the fever had left him.

The help which his father could give him was not sufficient to pay his school expenses either at Magdeburg or afterwards at Eisenach. He was compelled to help himself after the fashion of poor students, who, as he himself afterwards expressed it, sang before the doors to gather trifling gifts from the charitable. "I myself," he says, "was also once such a street beggar, particularly in Eisenach, my beloved town." He and his companions made excursions to the surrounding country in prosecuting the same object. Frequently, in after years, in the pulpit and the professor's chair, he related a little incident from these scenes. During the Christmas season they sang in the villages four-voiced hymns, in which they celebrated the birth of the babe of Bethlehem. As they were lustily singing once before the door of a farm-house, the farmer came out and in a coarse voice exclaimed: "Where are you, you boys?" He had two sausages for them in his hand but they ran away in alarm, until he reassured them and told them to return and take the gift. "So," says Luther, "was I intimidated by the terrors of the school discipline of that day." His design in reciting this incident was to give his hearers an example of the disposition of the human heart frequently to misapprehend the exhibitions of God's mercy, and to regard with alarm that which was intended for encouragement, and in addition, the fact teaches us that we should constantly pray to God without apprehension. It was not uncommon in those days, that students also of better condition, as in this case, the son of Mansfeld's magistrate, sought to make up deficiencies in their expenses by the method here designated.

The father then sent him to Eisenach, where he had many relatives living in the town and neighborhood, of whom only one named Conrad, who was janitor of Nicolai church, is mentioned.



**LUTHER SINGS AS A CHORISTER AT THE DOOR OF MISTRESS URSULA
COTTA AT EISENACH.**

But their circumstances were not of that character, to afford him all the support he needed.

At this time his singing attracted the notice of Madam Cotta, who kindly cherished the promising lad, and whose memory with that of the Reformer, is perpetuated among the German people. Her husband, Konrad or Kunz, was one of the most respectable citizens of the town, descended from a noble and wealthy Italian family. She, Ursula Cotta, was of German origin, and her maiden name was Schalbe. She died in 1511. She conceived, as Mathesius expresses it, a strong attachment for the boy on account of his singing and fervent praying, and took him as a ward into her own house. Similar acts of kindness he then also received from a brother or relative of this lady, and further, from an institution in Eisenach, belonging to the Franciscan monks, which had received large donations from this family, and was hence known as the Schalbian College. In the house of Madam Cotta, Luther for the first time observed the refined mode of life in a patrician household, and learned the style of manners incident to his new position.

In Eisenach, he enjoyed four years' instruction in a progressive school. For many years afterwards, he had frequent friendly intercourse with Pastor Wiegand, who formerly had been his school-master in that place. Ratzenberger mentions as one of the teachers, "a respectable, learned man and poet, John Trebonius," of whom he relates, that whenever he entered his school-room, he removed his barett or cap, inasmuch as from the pupils present God may have chosen many a city magistrate or chancellor or learned doctor, which, as our narrator naively remarks, was richly realized afterward in Doctor Luther. We do not know what relation Trebonius and his pupil held to each other, as the school was divided into several classes. The method of instruction there pursued was afterwards commended by Luther to Melancthon. Luther there acquired a full knowledge of Latin, which at that time was a principal qualification for entrance into the university. He learned to write it not only in prose, but also in verse, which establishes the fact that the school in Eisenach participated in the efforts to promote classical learning, as mentioned above. His active mind and keen understanding were now happily developed. He not only made up that which had been neglected, but also soon advanced beyond his fellow pupils.

Whilst we observe the future hero of the faith, the teacher and combatant gradually unfolding in him, the most important question still is, what was the course of his religious development from his early youth?

He, who subsequently assailed the existing church with such terrible force of argument, always thankfully acknowledged that with all her alleged corruptions she continued to hold the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, the means of redeeming and sanctifying grace, the conditions of salvation and the basis of Christian morals. He recognized the benefits which he had derived from the church from his childhood. "In this house," he once said, "I was baptized and catechised or instructed in Christian truth, and hence I shall ever honor it as my paternal home." The church at least inculcated the duty of training children in school and in the family in a knowledge of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and requiring the children to commit these to memory. They were also taught to pray and to sing psalms and Christian hymns. There were already extant at that time, certain printed explanations of those principal heads of religious doctrine. There was a considerable number of these old hymns in German, used in the church service, especially on festival days. Luther calls them "fine hymns." He was very anxious that they should be perpetuated in the Protestant churches. The religious songs, for which we are indebted to his own poetical talent, are partly founded upon those ancient verses. We still have the Christmas hymn, which the poor boys sang before the houses of benevolent people, "A little child so lovely." The first stanza of our Whitsunday hymn which we owe to Luther, "Now we implore the Holy Ghost" is founded upon one of those old-time songs. The church selections, gospels and epistles for young and old, were read in the mother tongue in the churches. There were also sermons occasionally in German, and there were printed collections of sermons for the use of the clergy.

At the places where Luther grew up, this condition of things was comparatively better than at many others. For in general, much is required to bring to actual performance, the best designed plans of pious schoolmen, authors or associations, even when demanded by the interests of societies or prescribed by the authority of the church. There was lack of energy and zeal. Subsequently, the reformers could bring severe charges against the Catholic

church policy, the indifference of the leaders and the general neglect of duty, without apprehending any refutation. The most grievous imperfections and obvious faults, were laid openly bare by the visitations which they made throughout the churches, and we may reasonably judge what the real state of things was ten years previously. It was discovered that where parents or school-masters taught the Catechism, the children were not really instructed in its doctrines or morals, but on the other hand, were diligently exercised in carrying banners and sacred candles in processions, without hearing a single religious idea expressed. In those visitations, sometimes priests were met, who were not even themselves well acquainted with the Catechism. In his subsequent complaints against the deteriorated state of the church, Luther never mentions that he had himself experienced these dreadful evils, showing, as was intimated before, that when he was growing up, they did not exist, at least, to such an excessive degree.

The principal deficiency and most urgent want, which he afterwards became painfully conscious of, and from which his mind suffered from childhood, had regard rather to the manner in which Christian instruction was imparted to him in school and from the pulpit, and the religious deportment exacted from him as based upon these lessons.

His idea of the instruction of Christian children was to train them in the happy assurance, that God is their loving Father, Christ a faithful Saviour, and that they should draw nigh in child-like confidence to this Father, and that if they were troubled in their conscience on account of any sin or error, they were encouraged to ask forgiveness of Him. "After this way," he says, "I was not taught." On the other hand, he was reared in that conception of Christianity and in that form of religious life, against which, afterwards, as we shall see, his reforming activities were directed.

The system in which he was taught, represents God in unapproachable majesty and terrifying sanctity. Christ, the Saviour, atoner and mediator, whose appearance at the last day will condemn to punishment only those who reject his salvation, was set up before him visibly as a threatening and severe Judge. Instead of approaching this Saviour directly and imploring His saving grace, the intercession and mediation of Mary and other saints were devoutly sought. Just at the close of the middle ages, the worship and invocation of the saints were enriched and

exalted in various ways. Special honors and veneration were bestowed upon some at particular places, and in favor of particular interests. Knight George was the special patron saint of the town and Duchy of Mansfeld, and to the present day his statue stands over the entrance of the school house. Towards the end of the century, the worship of St. Anna, the Mother of Mary, suddenly began to flourish among the miners, after whom the mining town, built in 1496, was called Annaberg. Luther remembered some years after, that some "great doings" were associated with her on some extraordinary occasion, when he was a lad of fifteen, and that he also desired to put himself under her protection. There existed at that time some pious books, which, while they aimed at upholding the Catholic faith, still earnestly warned against overestimating the saints and against confiding more in them than in God; but this warning itself teaches us how necessary it was, and history teaches us also, that it was utterly fruitless. Striking and beautiful traits from the history of the saints warmly and favorably attracted Luther, and which he never denied. Of Mary, the Mother of God, he always spoke tenderly and reverently, only complaining that she was made an idol of by many. Of his earlier faith, he says, "At that time, Christ was to me an austere Judge, represented as sitting upon a rainbow; people fell away from Christ and betook themselves to saints as patrons. Men called upon Mary and implored her to show her maternal bosom to her son and thus move him to pity. A specimen of the manner in which deceptions were practiced upon the people, came into the possession of the Elector, John Frederick, the friend of Luther, which was probably taken from a monastery in Eisenach. It was a wooden statue of Mary with the infant Jesus upon her arm, furnished with a secret arrangement, by means of which, when people prayed to the child, he first turned away from them to his mother, and only after they had invoked her as a mediatrix, did he incline himself towards them with outstretched arms.

In that system of worship, the poor sinner who was anxious concerning his salvation and alarmed at the thought of divine judgment, was directed to practice self mortification and pious deeds, by which he would satisfy a righteous God. The church through the Confessional taught him how to pursue this course. Our reformers themselves, and Luther particularly, afterwards

rather encouraged souls to pour out their hearts burdened with spiritual troubles to their minister or other Christian brother, and to receive from his lips the comfort of forgiveness, which God bestows upon sincere faith in his redeeming love. But in the church of Rome, said they, nothing of these consolations was experienced, but on the other hand, the conscience was tortured with the recital of individual sins and burdened with all manner of external prescribed penances. The whole power of the church was exerted to compel the old and young to submit to this discipline at regularly appointed times and to seek peace with God in no other way.

Luther, as already remarked, often in later times, acknowledged and derived consolation from the fact, that even under such circumstances, enough of the power of the simple Bible truth could be impressed upon the heart to awaken a faith, which in spite of the barriers erected, and the perplexing human ordinances, would, with earnest longing and child-like confidence, throw itself into the arms of divine grace and thus really rejoice in the forgiveness of sin. He also, as we shall hereafter see, received wholesome directions from men in the church of Rome. The formal religiousness of Catholicism did not, during his juvenile years, influence Christian life everywhere to the same extent in Germany. But, he as a lad, was not brought under this conservative influence; no one had taught him as a youth how to secure this sweet enjoyment of the gospel. Looking back upon his monastic life and all the preceding years, he afterwards said, that there was nothing in his religious training, not even his baptism, from which he could draw any consolation, and his only anxiety was how by his own pious acts and merits he could gain the favor of a merciful God. Under the influence of such thoughts, he was compelled to seek refuge in monkery.

There was no lack of men before and during Luther's juvenile years, who freely exposed the abuses and corruptions of church life, and especially of the clergy. Long before similar complaints were also heard from the ranks of the laity. There was wide dissatisfaction with the tyranny of the papal hierarchy and its encroachments upon political rights and civil life, as well as with the worldliness and coarse immorality of the clergy and monks. The papal chair reached its highest point of moral corruption at that time in the character of Pope Alexander VI. Yet we know

nothing of the impressions and influences which were exercised upon Luther in this relation, in the circumstances which surrounded him in his early training. The report of such scandals, as they were shamelessly and in open day practised in Rome, was slow in reaching the places where the boy Luther lived. Concerning the criminal sexual indulgences of the clergy, of which we may say to the credit of our Germans, that it was chiefly these against which their consciences revolted, Luther, at a later date, made the noteworthy remark, that in his boyhood it was indeed true that the priests had women living with them, but that they never subjected themselves to the suspicion of unrestrained unchastity and adulterous libidinousness, whilst afterwards these became disgracefully prevalent.

Various foundations or institutions of those days, all of which refer to altars and to masses to be read at them, give evidence of the fidelity with which the people of Mansfeld, his home, clung to their traditionary churchliness. The mine bailiff, Reinicke, the friend of the Luther family, is also named among these founders; he specially patronized public religious services and vocal musical performances to the honor of the mother of God and of St. George.

We observe a peculiar feature in the religious and churchly character of Luther's father; doubtless, it was displayed by other honest, upright miners. He was an earnest advocate of a God-fearing life in word and practice. He often prayed at the bedside of his little Martin; and, as the friend of piety and knowledge, he cherished a warm partiality for the clergy and schoolmen. Luther, in one of his latest sermons, relates that he had often heard his father say how he himself had heard from his parents that there are many more people on the earth who are fed than all the sheaves that could be gathered from all the fields in the world: so wonderfully does God know how to maintain the human family. In this way he conscientiously followed the ordinances and practices of his church with his fellow citizens. When, in the same year in which he sent his son to Magdeburg, two new altars in the church at Mansfeld were consecrated to a number of saints, and sixty days' indulgence were promised to those persons who would hear masses at them, among the very first who took advantage of this offer were Hans Luther, with Reinicke and other members of the magistracy. The opponents

of the reformer, whilst they have tried to show that he had descended from the heretical Bohemians, have never let the least shadow of suspicion of heresy fall upon his father. Neither has the son in after times, when the father, with him, had abandoned the Church of Rome, ever said, that he remembered from his earliest years hearing his father utter a single word against it. But he still calmly and firmly maintained his own opinion, and this was founded on his own will, uninfluenced by others. He resolutely upheld his own paternal rights and duties, even in opposition to claims which were presented from that quarter. Thus, as Luther relates, when he was once thought to be dying, and the priest admonished him to bequeath a portion of his property to the clergy, he simply replied: "I have many children, I will leave it to them; they need it most." We shall see how unyielding he was in maintaining the divine law of filial obedience to parents against the exalted position and meritoriousness of the monastic life, which practically abrogated that law.

Some years after, Luther mentioned the fact that his father spoke in high admiration of the dying profession of a Count of Mansfeld, in which he cast himself wholly upon the merits of a suffering and atoning Saviour, and commended his departing soul to him, without any intervention of saints or reliance upon good works. "I myself," observed Luther, "at that time as a young student, thought that founding some institution in connection with churches or monasteries was a very praiseworthy and meritorious act." We need not then be surprised that the father entertaining such views, should without hesitation and with full conviction, afterwards adopt the doctrines of Grace which the son taught. But though the father freely expressed sentiments of this character, yet he practiced a blameless conformity to the outward services of the church as prescribed by law, and carefully abstained from criticising church proceedings, which he thought did not become him as a simple layman, and particularly was he silent upon this subject in the presence of his children. As to any positive religious influence and impressions which such a confession as made by the Mansfeld Count could produce upon them, we can easily conceive how they could be overbalanced by the stringent severity of the domestic discipline which the father conscientiously practiced.

With the doctrines of the church, which taught salvation

through the mediation of saints and of the church, and by meritorious works, which were instilled into the young Luther's mind, there were closely associated those mysterious ideas, so common among the people, concerning diabolical powers, which not merely menace the souls of men, but which exert a magical and terror-inspiring influence upon human beings during their whole natural life. It is well known that Luther himself entertained this view concerning the devil, and that he often spoke of human sorcery as the direct agency of the Evil One, and especially of the practices and influence of witches and conjurers. But he was still sure above all things of this, that we were safe in God's hand against Satan, and that we may triumph over him. But he also taught, that we must recognize his mischievous operations in suddenly-occurring and trying natural events or misfortunes, such as tempests, conflagrations, etc. Many of the sorceries, which are related among the people in so many different forms and firmly believed, he regarded in part as unworthy of credit, and partly to be attributed to pure delusion of the mind effected by the devil. But added to this, he did not doubt that witches were capable of mysteriously inflicting bodily injury upon persons—that, for instance, they could do grievous harm to children, yea, even bewitch the soul as well as the body.

From his immediate surroundings, and especially from his own father's family, such ideas were infused into the mind of Luther in his earliest boyhood, and they continued to influence him all through life. At that time particularly they engrossed the mind of the German populace to a remarkable degree, they developed themselves in wonderful fantastic exhibitions, they became subjects of ecclesiastical and civil legislation, they exposed those persons who were suspected of being in league with the devil to severe punishment, and under such treatment, these visionary ideas were only more deeply rooted and enlarged. One year after Luther's birth, the most important papal bull appeared, upon which the trials for witchcraft were based. As a lad, Luther heard a great deal about witches, whilst in later years, he thought that they were not talked about as much as formerly; and without any hesitation, he relates how they occasioned much evil to cattle and to men, and also brought about bad weather and hail. He had heard from his own mother that she had suffered much from the enchantments of a neighbor. He says, "this witch shot

at his mother's children, that they screamed themselves to death." Such impressions and views belong to the darker features which the picture of Luther's youth present to us, and are of great importance in the comprehension of his subsequent internal life career.

When we present to our minds all these traits of the religion and superstition of those days, we are by no means to presume that they controlled the entire life of the boy and the youth. He became, as Mathesius represents him,—“a gay, merry young fellow.”

In his own later descriptions of himself and of his early life he was led, by the fact of his having had to struggle against the perpetuation of that state of affairs in the Church under which he himself had to suffer, to give such prominence especially to these features of his earlier days. Although there was much that then oppressed him and threw dark shadows over his youth, the burden was greatly lightened by a fresh and elastic natural vigor that he had inherited, and that afterwards revealed itself in a novel manner and in rich measure in the sphere of a new religious life. And the childlike delight in the contemplation of nature around him, that afterwards peculiarly distinguished the earnest theologian and champion, we must ascribe to his original cast of mind and to his life as a boy in contact with nature.

Although the greater part of his education at this period was through the medium of the Latin language, yet he never forgot the peculiar idioms and unpolished character of the language of the common people among whom he lived from his childhood; and sometimes he was betrayed into the use of some of its coarse and inelegant expressions in the discussion of theological and religious subjects.

In no other theologian, we may say in no other cotemporaneous German author, do we meet with so many proverbs and popular phrases derived from the language of the people, as in him. They seem to obtrude themselves upon him unsought in his books, lectures, conversation and letters. Neither is it likely that he would so frequently quote or allude to the popular legends and folk-lore, such as Dietrich von Bern and other heroes, or of Eulenspiegel or Markolf, as he does, if he had not become acquainted with them in his youth. He, however, severely censured “vain” and immodest fables and “gabblings,” and was par-

ticularly severe upon those of the clergy who seasoned their sermons with jokes taken from these popular books.

All through life he cherished a warm attachment to the places in which he was reared. Eisenach, as we have already heard, continued to be his "dear old town." Mansfeld was his favorite as the place of his home, and the whole Duchy as his "Fatherland." He also entertained the same respect for the miners, his fellow-countrymen and the fellow-workmen of his father. But there was no wide horizon spread out before him among the citizens of the little mining town of Mansfeld. He subsequently went to school at that place, but even in the beginning of his labors and conflicts, he had very limited knowledge of the outside world, its political and social relations, and the ways and views of mankind in general. His subsequent quiet monastic life, until his public appearance as a reformer, contrasts strongly with his later unbounded activity and tireless energy in prosecuting the work assigned him of God.

Those last years of his school period contributed much towards promoting that higher education which his father was so anxious that he should obtain. Thus furnished, in the summer of 1501, in his eighteenth year, he entered the University of Erfurt.

CHAPTER III.

THE STUDENT IN ERFURT AND HIS ENTRANCE INTO THE MONASTERY. 1501-1505.

AMONG the German high-schools this one, which had already lived one hundred successful years, maintained at that time a great reputation, whilst its location was also favorable to the young student from Mansfeld. "It bore," said Luther afterwards, "such a high character, and was so renowned, that all others in comparison were regarded as small preparatory schools." His parents were now able to furnish him with the necessary means to pursue his studies at such a place: "My dear father," he says, "in great kindness sent and supported me there, and raised the money that was needful by severe labor and anxiety." There was awakened in himself a burning thirst after higher knowledge. "At the fountain of all science," as Melanchthon says, "he hoped to satisfy it." He began by taking a complete course of philosophy, as it was then designated, which was regarded as the basis of all other sciences and even as introduction to them. It comprehended the laws and methods of thinking and learning in general, the doctrines of language, of which Latin was the foundation, including grammar and rhetoric, together with the highest problems and final principles of existence, and general physics and astronomy. This course of study was not only requisite for learned theologians, but in many instances they were the preliminary branches for students of law and medicine.

When Luther came to Erfurt from Eisenach, there was nothing about him that could so attract the attention of others, as to give occasion to any contemporary reports concerning him. But the most prominent teachers at whose feet he sat are well known to us, as well as the general style of mental aliment with which he was furnished by them. He there also entered the circle of older and younger men than himself, professors and fellow-students, who subsequently, as friends or opponents, were in a condition to give favorable or unfavorable testimony to his life and pursuits.

Iodocus Trutvetter, of Eisenach, who, three years after Luther's

entrance, was made Doctor of Theology and professor of the theological Faculty, was, at that time, considered the first master of Philosophy in the University of Erfurt. Next to him, Bartholomew Arnoldi von Usingen was much admired as professor of the philosophical branches. Luther attended the lectures of both these men, but was partial to the former.

The philosophy which at that time flourished in Erfurt, and which had a vigorous advocate in Trutvetter, was that of the later scholastic. It had become a custom to combine the idea of the scholastic or mediæval theological and philosophical sciences with a method of thinking and teaching which, whilst it investigated the highest questions of knowledge and life, yet never struck out into any independent course, nor ever dared to depart from tradition. On the contrary, it submitted itself to every thing that was connected with the real or presumed religious creed, to the dogmas of the Church and the authority of celebrated old church teachers. It was presented also in a style of dry formalism and fruitless subtle controversial questions.

Trutvetter devoted all his energies to the prevalent philosophy, and published a series of manuals upon the subject. Compared with others, he was moderate in his tone, and showed no inclination to polemics, in which acute minds find so much enjoyment. The same may be said of his colleague, Usingen. The general standpoint of both was the same. Trutvetter also gave evidence of extensive reading in ancient and modern scholastic literature, embracing the writings of the most celebrated as well as those of obscure authors. We can easily conclude from this what the character of his lectures was, and what claims he made upon his pupils.

At the same time, the philosophical Faculty of this University made a fresh and vigorous beginning of the study of the classic, Latin and Greek antiquity, with which a new science came into existence; yea, even a new era of intellectual culture burst upon the world. We have already had occasion to refer to the agitations and influences of reviving literature in the schools in which Luther was taught at Magdeburg and Eisenach. Now he was connected with one of the most prominent nurseries of these "good and noble arts and sciences" in Germany—yea, at that place where, in those days, their richest buds were unfolding. Erfurt could boast that for the first time in Germany, Greek was

printed in Greek type in one of its learned workshops—a grammar was published in the same year in which Luther came to the University. It was particularly the poetry of the ancients which awakened the enthusiasm and emulation of young students. The flowing and elegant Latin, as it was learned from the ancient models, was the language of science and cultivated intercourse; still more important was the free agitation of thought to which this language led, and the new world of observation which it opened to educated men.

In proportion as these students of antiquity despised the barbarous Latin and the insipidity of traditional, monastic and scholastic culture, there also went out an opposition to scholastic doctrine, to the dogmas of the Church, yea, to the religious conceptions of Christianity in general. History teaches us the different paths which the Humanists pursued in this relation, and we shall hereafter see how in divers ways they coincided with the pathway of our reformer and impart importance and interest to the progress of the reformation itself. In many, an earnest religious longing was combined with the effort after a more liberal intellectual culture and an aspiration after an improvement in the affairs of the church. When the flames of the reformation conflict burst out, some of them attached themselves to Luther or the other religious leaders at his side; others, shrinking back in alarm from the momentous decision, and above all things, only concerned about their own scientific employments, were content with counseling moderation, and retired to the cultivation of the Muses. Others abandoned the Christian faith and even the foundation of a Christian, moral life. They relapsed into a new heathenism, which in some instances was vulgar, sensual, immoral; in others, it was more refined, artistic, æsthetic. But even these did not on that account take up arms against the Church; on the other hand, the majority of them continued to conform to the external observances of the church, considered her doctrines, ordinances and discipline as indispensable to the common mass, above which they felt themselves to be elevated; some of them were even connected with the government of the church, and were eminently delighted with the exercise of this authority and with the enjoyment of its benefits. This state of things at that time was without disguise exhibited to everybody, in Italy, in Rome and in the papal palace itself. On the other hand, the most prominent supporters of

the revival of learning among the Germans, even though they arrayed themselves against monkish and clerical barbarism, yet, for themselves and their pupils, continued faithful to the teachings of the mother Church. Especially in Erfurt the relation between them and the representatives of the old school philosophy and school theology, was peaceful, unconstrained and friendly. To Trutvetter, for his dry writings, they gave flattering, smooth and elegant verses; he, on the other hand, was already busy in cultivating a more refined style of language.

Talented young students of classical science in Erfurt, formed themselves into an alliance or society. There was no lack of youthful conviviality, poetry and wine; but they did not allow any indecorum or immorality. Various men, whom we shall have to name in the subsequent history of Luther, belonged to this circle; among them was Johann Jaeger, better known under the name of Crotus Rubianus, the friend of Ulrich Hutten and George Spalatin (properly Burkhard) later the intimate collaborator of our reformer. Both had already been three years at the University, when Luther came. Three years after him, Coban Hess appeared there, the most brilliant and amiable of the young Humanists and poets of Germany.

These then were the scientific resources which Luther found in the philosophical faculty in Erfurt. Various paths of mental culture were opened before him. With characteristic energy he engaged in the study of philosophy in all its wide extent, and made himself especially familiar with its involved and knotty points, whilst besides this he was also intent upon enjoying, as far as possible, the fruits of the newly-awakened science of antiquity.

In classical studies he preferred Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, and in addition, as was customary with students of ancient languages, he diligently read the Latin poetry of more modern masters. His principal aim, however, was less directed towards making himself a perfect master of the language than to gather from it the pregnant expressions of human wisdom, and pictures of human life and of the history of nations. He had learned it thoroughly enough to express his own weighty thoughts clearly and forcibly in classic Latin, but was at the same time painfully conscious how far below that of the more modern Latin writers his own fell in elegance, purity and grace. But at these qualities he never aimed.

He cultivated personal and social intercourse with the members of this association. Crotus, whom we have named above, afterwards reminded him how once in Erfurt they two had devoted themselves to the noble arts. But the numerous letters and poems of these young Humanists of Erfurt, left to posterity, do not mention his name. Crotus tells us that he had made himself a name among them as "the learned philosopher," and as "the musician." To "the poets," which was the favorite title of the youthful Humanists, he did not then belong. Many, and among them Luther's friend and fellow-laborer, Melanchthon, have regretted that he was not more thoroughly penetrated with the æsthetic spirit of the fine arts and liberal sciences, so that his abrupt temperament and manners might have been softened by their influence. But little was to be gained from them that would embolden him the more in the intrepid battle he afterwards fought. The energy of his arm in dealing terrific blows upon the papacy would not be braced by the stately logic of Aristotle or the mellifluous strains of Sappho. Those intellectual possessions and enjoyments then so highly prized and cherished, would on the contrary, rather restrain him, not only from open warfare, but also from sharp, deep penetration into higher religious and moral questions, and the frequent internal struggles arising from them. When considering the general merits of this revival of letters, or Humanism as they called it, we must not forget how far it withdrew itself from the life of the German people and from association with it. It contributed towards building up a partition wall of intellectual aristocracy and left the best talent as awkward in the utterance of its own mother tongue as it was skillful and fluent in the handling of foreign, acquired, artificial and un-German forms of speech. Luther, in not wholly surrendering himself to these influences, always remained a German.

Philosophy absorbed his chief attention and left him but little time for other studies. In this department he aimed at the highest attainments of human knowledge. The later scholastic philosophy still retained its allegiance to the older, however closely it clung to its own clumsy forms. At the same time these forms, dry as they were, had an attraction for him, because they exercised his naturally sharp discriminating and incisive mind. He was fond of discussion. Literary combats were at that time much enjoyed at all the universities. Afterwards when

the light of scriptural truth shone upon his understanding and the grace of God renewed his heart and he came to comprehend the subject of genuine theological science, then he deplored the time and labor he had expended upon those studies and spoke of them even with disgust.

We have already learned from Crotus of the social life he there led with his friends. Music also, in which he had already showed his skill as a wandering student minstrel, he still cultivated and exercised in those University circles. He had a voice that was not strong but high, distinct, which could be heard at a great distance. In addition to vocal music, he now also learned to play the lute, and without a teacher. He devoted that time to this amusement, whilst he was confined to the house on account of a wounded leg.

He made such rapid progress in those philosophical studies, that in his third session he acquired the first academical degree in the philosophical faculty, which was that of Bachelor. This degree, agreeably to the universal custom of Universities preceded that of Master, which is equivalent to our present Doctor of Philosophy. The examination for it which Luther stood on St. Michael's day, 1502, extended itself according to the programme, over the most important branches of the whole domain of philosophy. Probably it must not be regarded as having been extremely rigid. The attainment of the Master's degree required the severest labor. It was conferred on him in part in the beginning of 1503. He may have been thinking of himself when afterwards in speaking of the former reputation of Erfurt, he said: "What a glorious and exciting time we used to have of it, when they conferred the degree of Master and honored the recipients with a torch-light procession; I hold that no temporal worldly happiness was equal to that." Melanchthon—and many fellow-students of Luther could have made the same report—says, "that the extraordinary talents of the young man were at that time the admiration of the whole University."

It was the will of his father and the advice of his relatives that he should now prepare himself for the law. In this profession they thought he could put his talents to the best use and be of most service to mankind. And in this department, the University of Erfurt possessed one of the most distinguished scientific magnates of his times, in Henning Gøede, who was just



LUTHER DISCOVERS THE LATIN BIBLE IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
AT ERFURT.

then in the vigorous maturity of his years. Thus then Luther began to hear lectures on law. His father also procured for him valuable books, amongst them a copy of *Corpus Juris*.

But a very different direction in his career was in preparation in his inner religious life.

As we have heard above, he subsequently often spoke of the influence which the domestic discipline of his father, some occurrences in his school life, and the instructions of the church, exerted upon him and inclined his mind in this direction. Amid all his philosophical studies and all the enjoyments of student life, he could never wholly banish the thought that he must make himself pious and satisfy all the austere requirements of God—that he must make good all the failures of his life and reconcile himself with heaven, and that an angry judge is seated upon the throne, threatening him with damnation. Internal voices of that character must become louder and more earnest in a person of sensitive and tender conscience, as he advances from youth to manhood and becomes more conscious of his own responsibility before God, and of his own self-dependence. To the religious practices to which he was accustomed from his childhood, Luther continued faithful as a student. He not only began every day with prayer, but also with going to church, that is, to early mass. But he was not here taught the gospel way to God and to salvation.

There was at that time, at Erfurt, an earnest and vigorous preacher named Sebastian Weinman, who sharply rebuked the prevailing vices of the day and exposed the corruptions of ecclesiastical life, and whom also the students were fond of hearing; but he had nothing to offer for the internal longings of a soul struggling into spiritual life. It was an event in Luther's life, when on one occasion he found a Latin Bible in the University Library. Although he was twenty years of age, he had never until then seen a complete Bible. For the first time he now observed that it contained much more than was read and explained in the churches. With supreme delight he read in the Old Testament the history of Samuel and of his mother Hannah, at which place he had opened the book. But he did not yet know what more he could make out of the book for himself.

It was not peculiar transgressions, nor youthful excesses, that filled Luther with dread of the wrath of God. His most bitter

enemies in Erfurt, who knew him as a student, have never designated or even hinted at any thing unfavorable to him of that character. As descriptive of the manner in which he himself estimated his moral life, we may notice a declaration of his, as reported by a fellow-student and good friend, "Luther," he relates, "at that time, over and over again when washing his hands would say, 'the more we wash ourselves, the more unclean we become.'"

Without doubt he meant the numerous small offences in word, thought and deed, which in spite of human caution, each day brings with it, and which however unimportant they seemed to others, were in his conscience sins against God's holy law. And still more alarming questions rose in his troubled spirit, and his sagacious, subtle mind, instead of being able to solve them, only led him deeper into uncertainty and doubt. Was it only God's will that he should once become really pure and thus be saved? As far as he is concerned, does not the way to hell or the way to heaven stand unalterably fast in the will and purpose of God, on which everything depends and by which everything is determined? And do not the useless results of his struggles thus far make it plain to him that the way to hell is that destined for him? He was thus exposed to the peril of falling into fatal error concerning such a God. Biblical texts, like those which speak of serving God in fear, became intolerable and hateful to him. He was in danger of being seized by the demon of despair, and thus might be led even to blaspheme God. This he afterwards called his severest temptation, as he experienced it while yet a youth.

The condition of his health may have contributed to enhance the violence of these emotions in his soul. We hear that, during one period of his University life, he had a serious attack of sickness, which awakened in him thoughts of dying. A friend (of whom more modern tradition has made an old priest), at that time said to him: "Do not be alarmed; you will yet live to become a great man!"—a declaration which at that time deeply impressed him. An alarming and sudden exposure to death during that time also had a powerful effect upon him: As he was one Easter-day on his way to visit his parents, and had proceeded several miles from Erfurt, the sword which he wore, as was customary with all students, accidentally wounded the chief artery of his leg. Whilst a friend who was with him, went after a sur-

geon, and was compelled to leave him alone, he pressed the wound while lying upon his back, but the leg continued to swell. In the anguish of death, he exclaimed, "Mary, help!" At that time, as he subsequently said, he would have died depending upon the virgin Mary for salvation. On the following night his alarm was renewed, and he again invoked the mother of God. It was at this time, during his convalescence that he learned to play upon the lute.

Several months after he had received the degree of Master, he was most profoundly agitated at the sudden death of a friend, of whom we know nothing further. He was stabbed or suddenly lost his life by some other calamity.

Whilst he was in this depressed condition of mind, might not a thought have occurred to him, whether he should not finally risk his salvation in the monastic sanctity recommended by the church, renounce the world, and sacrifice all his attainments and prospects in this life. "The young Master" as he afterwards expressed it, "was at that time in a most depressed state of mind."

But all of a sudden he was forced to a momentous decision.

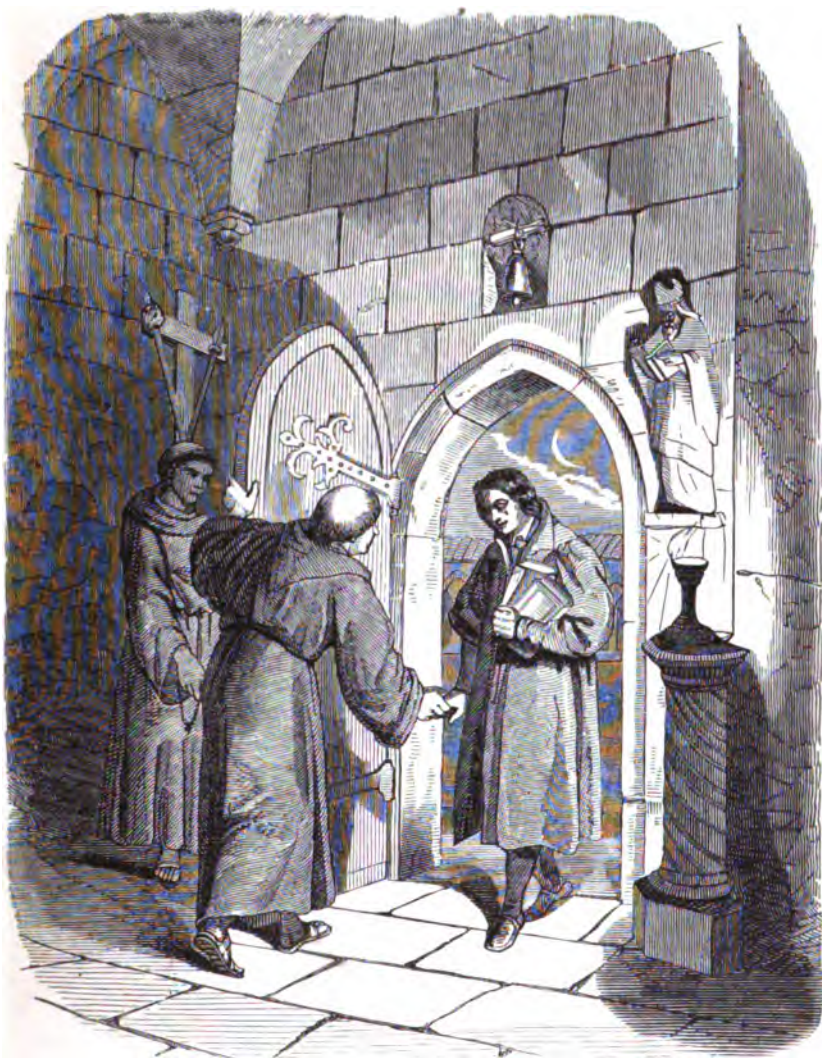
Towards the end of June, 1505, when several holy-days happened about the same time, he visited his parents at Mansfeld, possibly hoping to be refreshed and consoled. Returning alone on July 2, the festival of the visitation of Mary, and having nearly reached Erfurt, a terrific thunderstorm overtook him near the village of Stotternheim. A vivid flash of lightning quivered before him. Trembling with alarm, he fell to the ground and exclaimed, "Help me, dear Saint Anna,* I will become a monk." A few days after, when he had perfectly recovered from this fright, this exclamation occasioned regret. Many advised him against the step which he had vowed to take. But he was persuaded that the vow he had made was heard and accepted. Hence he felt bound to resist all opposition. He did not think it was his duty first to secure the consent of his father; according to his own idea and the teaching of the church, even the father's protest would not release him from the vow. Thus he tore himself away from the circle in which he had hitherto lived. On July 16, he once more invited his best friends to his lodgings, to take a final leave of them. They tried their utmost efforts to restrain him from his purpose; he replied to them, "To-day you see me, but

*St. Anna was the patron saint of that district.

never again." The next day, St. Alexius' day, they accompanied him with tears to the gates of the Augustinian monastery, located in the town, which, as he thought, would shelter him forever.

It is the utterances of Luther himself, which enable us even at this distant day, vividly to represent this remarkable event before us. It is tradition that has given the name Alexius to that unknown friend, whose sudden death by lightning during the thunder storm alarmed him, and forced him to the conclusion to become a monk. There is no historical authority whatever for the story.

Of his monastic vow, Luther later says, that it was an enforced one—wrung from him by alarm and the terror of death. But at that time he did not doubt that God compelled him. And thus afterwards he says, "I thought that I never would get out of the cloister; I was entirely dead to the world, as long as it seemed good to God."



LUTHER ENTERS THE MONASTERY OF THE AUGUSTINES. 1505.

BOOK II.

LUTHER AS MONK AND PROFESSOR UNTIL
THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMA-
TION WORK. 1505-17

CHAPTER I.

IN THE MONASTERY AT ERFURT UNTIL 1508.

THE choice of the monastic life was suddenly made. But his mind was fully and sincerely set upon it, and the selection of the cloister which he entered was also well considered.

The Augustinian monks belonged to the most influential and respected monastic orders in Germany. Loud and just as were the complaints and contemptuous the derision even at that time, of the corruptions, the idleness, the hypocrisy and coarse immorality of the monastic life, still many monks believed that they were faithfully serving God and had attained to an eminent degree of sanctity and merit, by taking the vow of celibacy, relinquishing their worldly possessions, and submitting themselves entirely to the will of their superiors and to the rules of their order. External discipline, at least, was generally maintained. Among the German monasteries of this order, there were many which, whilst elsewhere corruptions of the gravest character had crept in, yet insisted upon the strict observance of their ancient rules, which they held had been prescribed by Saint Augustine himself—but the rules which they stringently enforced had reference, for the most part, to very unimportant, external affairs. They established among themselves a sort of alliance, over which was placed a so-called general vicar of the order for Germany. To this alliance belonged the monastery at Erfurt. The Augustinian monks especially, were held in high esteem by the higher and more cultivated classes of the population. They were zealous in preaching and the care of souls, and were advocates of theological study. Of this monastery, Arnoldi, the teacher of Luther, was a member. As the order owned no property and all the members lived upon alms, the monks went through the city and all the country round about, to beg money, bread, cheese, and other provisions.

According to the rules of the order, he who applied for admission was not immediately received, but his application was laid

aside for a while until it was ascertained whether he was really in earnest. Then he was taken in as a so-called novice, and put upon probation at least a year. During this period he might withdraw if he chose.

Luther now thought it time to inform his parents of his resolution. But the monastic brothers reminded him, on the contrary, that a man must forsake father and mother for the sake of Christ and his cross, and that no one who once having laid hold of the plough and looks back, is fit for the kingdom of heaven. When he then wrote to his father, the latter was sorely displeased at the son for having repudiated his paternal rights. "My father," says Luther some years after, "was vexed with me beyond degree and refused his sanction; he answered me in writing, and addressed me as *thou*—before that he had called me *you*, because I was a Master—and in a passion withdrew all favor from me." About that time the father lost two sons by the plague. The same pestilence had also broken out so violently in Erfurt, that whole crowds of students, with their teachers, fled away, and Luther's father heard that his son Martin had also fallen a victim to it. His friends then prevailed upon him to sacrifice to God his dearest object on earth, by permitting this son, who was still spared to him, to enter into the monastic life. The father was finally persuaded; but he yielded, as Luther says, with an unwilling, saddened mind.

The new convert was received among the novices with sacred hymns, prayers and other solemnities. He was already dressed in the costume of his order. It was a white woolen robe with a cowl and cape of black cloth, and a black leather girdle. When he was disrobed of his civil dress and he was invested with the monastic vestment, Latin verses were sung over him, intimating that the Lord was now "putting off the old man, which is corrupt, and putting on for him the new man which after God is created in righteousness." Over the cowl, there was a so-called scapular, which was a narrow piece of cloth which hung over the shoulders, breast and back down to the feet; this signified that he was to take upon himself the yoke of the Lord, who said, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light." After this he was given over to the care of the master of the novices, whose duty it was to initiate them into the practices of monastic sanctity, to observe their conduct, and to watch over their souls.

Above all things, their own will was to be entirely broken. They were to learn that everything enjoined upon them was to be performed without the least resistance, and even to be the more willing to render obedience, the more it was against their own disposition and taste. Inclination to pride was to be overcome by imposing upon them the meanest services. Friends of Luther inform us that he, in the beginning of his novitiate, was daily compelled to perform the most degrading work in sweeping and scouring, and that it afforded envious brothers peculiar pleasure when he, the hitherto proud young Master, was ordered, with a sack upon his shoulders, to beg through the town in company of a more experienced brother.

For a time the University interceded in his behalf as one of its members, and obtained at least some mitigation of his trials. From Luther's own mouth, we never afterwards hear any complaint of these special burdens and vexations. He did not shrink from them himself: he even desired to perform self-mortifying duties, so that he might the more deserve God's favors. Even after he had become a Reformer, he gratefully spoke of his Novice Master or "Pedagogue" as he was called: "He was a good old man—doubtless a genuine Christian under the monastic cowl."

Every day was fully and regularly occupied by prayers and other religious services prescribed for the novices. Seven or eight hours of prayer or *Horas* were set apart for every day. The brothers, who had not yet become priests, had to repeat the Lord's Prayer with the Ave Maria twenty-five times a day, whilst to the priests were prescribed more general forms of prayer. Luther was soon promoted to study certain theological branches, which were taught by two learned Fathers of the convent. The more important affair to him was that they gave into his hands a Latin Bible, such as was used in the church. Just at this time, a new code of statutes designed by Staupitz, the Vicar of the Order, was introduced into the Augustinian convents of that province, which inculcated diligent reading, devout hearing, and zealous study of the Holy Scriptures. Luther had no competent teacher of the Bible—he found the understanding of it difficult. But with ardent longing he continued to read it and sigh for some one to expound it.

After the year of probation had elapsed, there ensued the solemn reception into the order. Luther here vowed to live in ac-

cordance with the rules of the holy Father Augustin, and to render obedience to Almighty God, the virgin Mary, and the Prior of the convent, "even unto death." Before this vow was made the vestments of the order were again put upon him, after they had been consecrated with holy water and incense. The Prior accepted his vow and sprinkled him with holy water, after he had laid himself down upon the ground in the form of a cross.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the brothers congratulated him as being now like an innocent child that has just been baptized. He was now furnished with a cell for himself, containing a table, bedstead and chair. On March 7, 1872, this room was destroyed by fire.

By an indissoluble vow, Luther had now bound himself to that condition in life in which he aimed at securing heaven. All the means through which he hoped to arrive at this result were richly afforded to him in his convent. When he sought the favor of Mary and other saints, who were to intercede for him at the judgment seat of God and Christ, he found in his order a glowing veneration, particularly for the holy Virgin, and all proper instruction how to render her acceptable service. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which Pius IX. in our day has ventured to elevate to the dignity of a church doctrine, was zealously defended by the Augustinians, and was also firmly believed by Luther even after the beginning of his Reformation struggle. One of his two theological instructors in the convent, John von Paltz, glorified the virgin exceedingly in his writings, and zealously maintained that all Christians are her spiritual children. "Under her mantle," says Luther, "I had to creep at that time, the Lord Jesus being out of view." From the multitude of other saints, Luther selected a number of such who might be his constant protectors. Among these, besides Saint Anna, St. George and others, the Apostle Thomas was named. From this one, who himself once suffered so much on account of weakness of faith and lack of courage, he hoped for peculiar sympathy. We have already alluded to the prescribed prayers, which occupied the greater part of every day. He took pains to learn and repeat every word punctually. Afterward he said, that in convents the prayers are read just as magpies, ravens or parrots speak.

If he desired penitently to be delivered from his sins, which had so long tormented him and daily alarmed his conscience, the

confessional in the convent was always open to him. At least once a week, every brother of the order was compelled to confess privately before the priest set apart to that service. All sins were to be particularly specified if the penitents desired full forgiveness. Luther made an effort to lay open to his confessor everything he had done from his youth, so that the good old man himself grew weary of hearing him. By a complete internal contrition, which corresponded to the enormous weight of the sins, the penitent rendered himself worthy of pardon, which the confessor then pronounced in the act of absolution; however, according to the prevailing sentiment, if there was any deficiency in a complete contrition, it was made up by the sacrament of absolution. But the punishment to which God had destined the guilty was not annulled by this absolution or pardon; that was to be atoned for by personal performances, which the priest imposed upon the penitent, such as prayers, alms, fasting, and other self-mortifications. Damnation hung over him who was not pardoned; he who had not made atonement was threatened with the tortures of purgatory, at least. This was and continued to be the doctrine of Catholicism.

Thus was Luther now ordered to practice a painful and methodical self-examination, and diligently to use all the means of salvation, which were here furnished him. But the more diligently he inspected his life and thoughts, the more transgressions of the perfect will of God did he discover, and hence, the more heavily did they bear upon his conscience. They were not, as might be presumed of a vigorous youth, the emotions of carnal lust, which were still more stimulated by the constraint of the cloister. On the other hand, it was anger, hate, envy of his brothers and those around him; it was a secret vanity which even at that time his enemies accused him of, and a fretfulness of temper, which even later easily broke out into bursts of passion. Such emotions, words, and acts, were mortal sins to his conscience, even if they did appear in the confessional to the priest too unimportant to be recited. To these were superadded a number of minor offences against the rules of the church and the convent, relative to the outward forms of worship, prayers, etc., which the church, trifling as they must appear to us, regarded as grievous transgressions. There arose finally in his mind a constant uneasiness, which led him to look for sins where in general

none were to be found. What he before had said about the washing of one's hands, which became more unclean the more they were washed, he was now personally to experience. Whilst he felt deep contrition for these sins, and was filled with immeasurable anguish and alarm, yet his mental sufferings were never of that character or degree that he could console himself with the reflection that the guilt by this means, was compensated for before God. He still had a secret apprehension that all was not right. Absolution was again and again pronounced over him; but who could assure him that he had fulfilled the previous conditions, and that the absolution was really effectual? He cheerfully assumed all the penances, and performed in prayers, fastings, and vigils, much more than the rules of the cloister required or his father confessor imposed upon him. His vigorous constitution was prepared to endure these mortifications from his youth, but he practiced them so severely at this time, that he suffered the evil consequences for many years after. Luther could subsequently bear witness, that he at that time with such practices mortified and tortured his body to a greater extent than all his enemies and persecutors did their own.

With great diligence, as far as the other convent duties permitted, he devoted himself to the study of theology. He particularly read through the writings of the later scholastic theologians, with which he became somewhat acquainted during his philosophical course. Several of them, such as Occam of England, whose genius he highly prized, had written works which, in relation to questions of external ecclesiasticism, might have guided him into the path of truth, if on his part he had at that time possessed any susceptibility for it. They had opposed the absolute power of the pope and his intrusion into the domain of the emperor and the State. But such a tendency was foreign to the monastic order to which he was devoted, and to the theologians who were his instructors. Paltz, mentioned above, was prominent in glorifying the pope for having dispensed indulgences in Germany. The whole order and its German convents were particularly indebted to the pope for various favors. Luther himself clung fast to all the ordinances of the hierarchy, with all the ardor with which he used the church's means of grace for the salvation of his soul.

The question of deepest personal interest to him during his

theological pursuits always was, how may the sinner secure eternal life? That which he read in the writings of those theologians, and what he heard from his learned teachers, was only adapted to enhance his fruitless internal struggle, anxiety and pain. The great church Father after whom his order was called, and to whom was attributed the authorship of its rules, once, on the ground of personal experience, which he himself had in conflict with sin and the flesh, maintained with deep impressiveness and successful controversy with opponents, that, as the apostle says, it does not depend upon the conduct of men, but on the mercy of God, not on human strength or will, but on the divine gracious will, which alone changes the heart of the sinner, and imparts power to know and do that which is good. But neither his order nor the scholastics comprehended this theology of Augustin. True, it was taught that heaven is too high to be gained by any other way than by the grace of God, but that at the same time the sinner by his natural powers can and must contribute so much before God, as to merit grace, which will then help him farther on toward heaven. He who has arrived at this degree, is qualified, and should feel himself impelled, to render more service than God's commands require. Reference to the bitter agonies and death of the Saviour Christ, was not neglected by the theologians at whose feet Luther sat; and they were often, especially by Paltz, laid to the hearts of Christians, in the most powerful and effective manner. But it was not the redeeming love of Christ, in which they might confidently rely, that was impressed upon them, but that now, on their part, they must sacrifice themselves for him who was sacrificed, and in following him, they must be willing to endure the pains of death for the expiation of their own guilt. Every day he felt these claims of God, which he could not meet, pressing more heavily upon him. The most violent temptation was the idea that God intended to allow him to fail under all these fruitless longings, and finally to let him sink into hell. And just then, he found among the later scholastics, not indeed a theory according to which God had in advance predestined a certain portion of men to damnation, but still such a general comprehension of God as made an arbitrary, absolute volition essential to his character and being, rather than holy love.

Luther spent several years in the cloister amid such struggles and sufferings. His spiritual life, as it was called, passed in

severe discipline and renunciation of the world, was the theme of praise in other convents, and held up as an example. Amid all this, he inwardly felt himself highly exalted, as though he were transported to the choir of the angels—"a proud, self-conceited saint," as he afterwards called himself. But fundamentally an opposite spirit still prevailed within him. Often in after times did he picture his condition, to warn others against similar ways. Thus he speaks of the pupils of the law, who try with their own works, labor constantly, wear shirts of hair, mortify their bodies, fast and flagellate themselves, do everything to satisfy the law. And such an one he once was. But he also had the experience of one who is sorely assailed, and is alarmed by the fear of death or other peril—who on the verge of despair flies from the presence of God as from the hateful devil, and would prefer that there should not be any God. He was reduced to that condition, and was so furiously tempted, that he thought he was about to perish, body and soul. Thus he says, in speaking of the tortures of purgatory, of a certain man, by whom he doubtless means himself—such tortures he often himself endured during his life, only for short periods, but they were so violent and hellish, that no tongue can express and no pen describe them; if they had continued a long time, or only half an hour, or the tenth part of an hour, he would have perished, and his limbs would have been turned to ashes. He himself afterwards recognized therein temptations of a peculiar character, which God does not allow to assail every man. It became a fixed and universally applicable principle with him, that the school of law, as he called it, could in truth bring salvation to any one as little as to him; that on the other hand, in this school he must learn to despair of himself, and all his claims upon the divine favor upon the ground of his own merits; and yet, as we have learned from the preceding, the reason why he never secured peace of conscience, was not merely or altogether the unevangelical character of church ordinances or convent rules and his own compliance with them, but what tortured him most deeply and annoyed him to the greatest degree, was really the internal emotions and dispositions which he felt were antagonistic to the requirements of God, whilst at the same time he thought that he must reconcile himself to God by fulfilling them by his own efforts.

Thus the experience through which he here passed led him to

that fundamental idea from which his future preaching as a reformer was to proceed. At that time, when in the cloister he thus distinguished himself, and by God's grace came to an experimental knowledge of God's truth, he was compared to the apostle Paul on account of his extraordinary and powerful conversion. In quite another sense really is he to be compared to Paul. He in his condition as a Pharisee, exerted himself above all others to become righteous before God, according to the law and the traditions of the fathers. It was then that he felt himself to be a "wretched man" (Rom. vii. 24), and subsequently, upon the experience he then had, regarded all as loss and uncleanness, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus.

As however, within the Catholic church, those church ordinances, dogmas and school theories, bearing on the methods of salvation, could never totally eradicate the biblical testimonies and church Confessions relating to the forgiving and redeeming love of God, nor could they deter plain and pious Christians from seeking refuge in the church with sincere longing for salvation, so did the convent of Erfurt, where Luther's internal religious development reached its highest point, also reveal to him most significant intimations and directions for the other side. These new ideas found difficult and only gradual access to his mind, beside the old standpoint which he had energetically and consistently assumed. It was the more necessary then, that as clearer light broke upon his mind, this standpoint should be shown to be baseless. He had changed his position, and he felt compelled to show the grounds of his change, as consistently and clearly as he had maintained his former stand.

That instructor of Luther in the convent, whom we have to understand as the master of the novices, made a deep impression upon him, in reminding him of the words of the Apostles' creed concerning the forgiveness of sin, and showing him, when he would not venture to apply it to himself, that the Lord himself had *commanded* him to hope. The same man referred him to a passage in the sermon of St. Bernard, in which that earnest preacher, though in his learned theology clinging to the church ideas of the middle ages, yet insists upon faith as the condition of forgiveness, and quotes that expression of the apostle Paul, in which he teaches that a man is justified through grace by faith. Such single passages struck deep into Luther, and remained

fixed, even if the fruits of them ripened only by degrees. He also expresses his thanks to his teacher Arnoldi for the consolations he gave him.

By far the greatest, most wholesome and most permanent influence was exercised upon him in the cloister, by the Vicar-General of those German convents, John von Staupitz. He was a very influential man, of noble, pious mind and distinct far-seeing spirit. He was thoroughly versed in the forms of the school theologians, but he was deeply absorbed in the Holy Scriptures; preferred them above everything else for his own spiritual improvement, and knew how to direct others in the same path. He aimed at a high grade of spiritual life, which in its practice was not cramped by the old, popular forms. He was averse to sharp conflicts and theological strife, but mildly and circumspectly he aimed at sowing the seeds of genuine piety in the sphere of his activity and in God's name to let them bring forth "the fruits of holy living."

In his visits to Erfurt, he encountered the young, gifted, learned and diligent, thoughtful and melancholy monk. He took him at once into his paternal confidence. He held familiar conversations with him, and afterwards entered upon an intimate correspondence with him. Luther's young heart with all its anxieties clung to him as to a father. When Luther felt moved to confess his numerous small sins to him, Staupitz carefully distinguished between real and presumed sin: of self-devised sins, or of small indiscretions, which Luther brought to his notice, he would hear nothing, and told him that God demanded earnestness and sincerity, and not feigned or imaginary transgressions. Luther tormented himself with a repentance which essentially consisted in agony, self-mortification, and works of expiation. Staupitz taught him that repentance according to the Scriptures was an internal conversion which proceeds from the love of righteousness and of God, and not in good resolutions to a better life, or in good works which cannot satisfy the law of God. He protested against his looking for peace in these outward acts and self-imposed penances, but taught him to persevere and trust in the grace of God, and not to see in Christ, whom God had set forth to be a propitiation for the remission of sins, a severe, unrelenting Judge, but rather a Saviour who "gave himself for him," and tenderly invites him to accept the proffered salvation. To this proposition he especially directed him, when Luther racked his mind and almost fell into despair

concerning that secret, eternal purpose of God; in the wounds of Christ the eternal decree of God shines resplendently before us. When his temptations did not cease, he also taught him to recognize in them attractive means of the divine love. He spoke to him of temptations to pride, which also might be made profitable to him, and at the same time of great enterprises for which God might be preparing him. In this simple, practical manner, and from the experience of his own life, he was in the habit of speaking with him. In his continued confidential intercourse with him, his own theology became plainly more expanded in the course of years, and his former unhappy pupil himself became his leader. But Luther all his life through with a most grateful heart called him his spiritual father, and thanked God that by the agency of Dr. Staupitz he was rescued from his temptations, and without whom he would have been drowned in the raging billows and sunk to perdition.

But above all his convictions of truth and duty and his spiritual life, and the basis of all his subsequent teaching and working, he found the secure ground in the continued study of the Holy Scriptures. In this course, Staupitz constantly encouraged him, and was amazed at Luther's untiring diligence and zeal. Very imperfect aids in the explanation of the Scriptures were at hand. He fixed his own independent attention upon the principal points of the Christian method of salvation, and upon the highest questions of Christian ethics. A single important question would absorb his mind for days at a time. Even words of great significance, which he could not yet clearly comprehend, clung fast to him and he carried them about with him until he was satisfied with their meaning and application. Thus for example, he says, was he at that time employed about that passage in Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked."

The third and last year of his monastic life at Erfurt brought with it, as far as we know, the decisive turn. His internal struggles ended in a cordial acceptance of Jesus Christ as his only Saviour, and his confidence in his good works, as a meritorious ground of salvation, was abandoned.

In the second year already, on May 20, 1507, he was solemnly consecrated to the priesthood, agreeably to the resolution of his superiors. Inasmuch as he carried his purpose thus far, his father

was to see him for the first time since he had entered the monastery against his will. A special and convenient day was set apart for the service, so that the father could be personally present at the great solemnity. With an imposing retinue of friends and relatives, he rode to Erfurt. But he had not changed his mind concerning the step which the son had taken. He still thought that as a father his will had been disregarded, and he was far from being reconciled. At the festival, which was held in honor of the young priest in the cloister, the latter tried to draw from his father an expression favorable to his course, by asking, "Why he was so angry at first, for in the convent one can surely lead a religious life." The father then thus addressed them all present: "Ye learned gentlemen, have you not read in the Scriptures that father and mother must be honored by children?" And when it was replied to him that his son was at that time called of heaven, and impelled to this course, he rejoined, "Would to God it were not a suggestion of the devil!" He gave them to understand—"I must be here eating and drinking, but would rather be absent."

But the high dignity to which he was exalted on this day brought with it fresh alarm and agitation. As priest, he was to appear before God, and by the words of consecration in the mass, he was to exhibit the body of Christ; yea, Christ himself and God, as really present upon the altar, to offer the body of Christ as a sacrifice to the living, eternal God. In this there was a number of forms to be observed, in which an oversight was a sin. When he performed his first mass, all this so overwhelmed him that he could scarcely continue at the altar: as he afterwards said, it almost killed him. The careful service, which he rendered to his saints, he now combined with his sacerdotal performances. As he read mass every morning, he every time invoked three out of the twenty-one he had selected, so that in a week he came round to all.

His Scripture studies gradually led him to the light, which decided these most important questions of life, which still agitated his mind. That apostolic declaration which St. Bernard made, was of essential service to him in this direction. When towards the end of his life he looked back upon this internal development, he says, the language of Paul concerning the righteousness of God, as set forth in Rom. i. 17, occasioned him special uneasiness

at that time. For a long time he could not endure it, because in accordance with the prevailing theology of the times he viewed the righteousness of God as an attribute, by which God punishes the sinner or the unrighteous. Day and night did the meaning and the connection of the apostolic expression occupy his mind. Finally, the God of mercy enabled him to perceive that Paul and the Gospel proclaim a righteousness, which is imparted by God's grace, in that God forgives the sins of those who believe in his Word, thus making them righteous, and bestowing upon them eternal life. Coming to these views, the gates of paradise were opened to him, and from this time all the collateral truth concerning the way of salvation became clear to him. But it was a gradual process; it was only during the latter part of his sojourn at Erfurt, and in the following years, that he came to a clearer conception of divine truth.

From the time of their consecration to the priesthood, the monks received the title of Fathers. He was not yet absolved from the duty of going out with a brother to beg alms. But he was now already employed in important business relating to the order; he had transactions with a high arch-episcopal dignitary, in which he displayed earnest zeal for a higher spiritual life, and for the interests of his order.

With his acute comprehension and retentive memory, he had become deeply versed in the learning of the school theologians of his times, although he had already struck out in a path for himself. But he had scarcely attained the age of 25 years, when Staupitz, animated by a deep anxiety for the prosperity of the newly established university of Wittenberg, recognized in him the man eminently adapted to a professorship.

CHAPTER II.

CALL TO WITTENBERG. JOURNEY TO ROME.

WITTENBERG was at that time the youngest of the universities of Germany. It was only in 1502 that it was founded by the Elector Frederick the Wise, of Saxony, who then exceeded the German Princes not only in breadth of view and far-seeing intelligence, but also in faithful solicitude for his country, sincere love for learning and deep religious interest. The territory over which he ruled was not rich. Wittenberg was a poor, badly built town of about 3000 inhabitants. But the prince showed his wisdom above all, in his judicious selection of the men whom he consulted and into whose hands he entrusted the direction. They, on the other hand, were determined above all things, to secure well-qualified and faithful teachers. The institution was to depend for its success solely upon its scientific character and solid instruction, and not upon external ostentation or wanton student life. The selection of theological professors was left by Frederick to Staupitz, for whom he had a high personal esteem. He in connection with the learned Pollich of Melrichstadt, had already devoted much time and attention in the service of the elector, to the preliminaries and details of the new institution. Staupitz himself entered into the theological Faculty as its first dean. His numerous engagements in the business of his order, and the necessary journeys arising out of them, rendered it impossible for him to give regular attention to his duties as professor. But as vicar of the order he aimed at supplying the theological deficiencies of the university, and by the opportunities of instruction thus afforded, to promote the scientific training of its members. Before this the Augustinian monks had a sort of colony in Wittenberg, of which, however, we hear but little. Since 1506, an imposing monastic edifice had been erected for their use. Soon, young monks from the convent, and afterwards more and more Augustinian monks from other places, entered the university as students, and gained for themselves academical degrees. The

patron saint of the university was, beside the Virgin Mary, Saint Augustin.

In 1507, the distinguished Trutvetter, of Erfurt, also received a theological chair in Wittenberg.

In the beginning of the winter 1508–1509, when Staupitz presided the second time as dean of the Theological Faculty, Luther was unexpectedly and suddenly called to that place. It was not only the counsel and wish of Staupitz, his fatherly friend, but the will of Staupitz, the Superior of the order, which he was bound to follow.

As he had until then only received the degree of Master of Philosophy, and had not yet attained to any academical rank considered requisite for a theological instructor, he was for the present to teach only those philosophical sciences, in the study of which we have seen him engaged in Erfurt. These branches were usually entrusted to theologians, as the first dean of the Philosophical Faculty in Wittenberg was a theologian, and at the same time a member of the Augustinian order. But from the beginning, Luther was anxious to exchange this department for that of theology, and by that he meant that theology which thoroughly investigates the kernel of the nut, the pulp of the wheat, and the marrow of the bones. He was already conscious of having found a good basis for his Christian knowledge and his internal experience, standing upon which he might now teach others. From this time forth, whilst his first philosophical preparations cost him some labor, yet he was also aiming to reach the theological grade which was necessary. The Baccalaureate was the introduction, and this rank of itself had three different grades, each of which was to be reached by a scientific examination and public dispute. The first was of a Bachelor of the Sacred Scriptures, by which a man was authorized to deliver lectures upon the Bible. The second grade, or that of a Sententarius, gave the privilege and imposed the obligation of giving lectures on the principal text-book of mediæval school theology, the so-called Sentences of Peter Lombard; he who acceptably met the requirements of this degree was advanced to the third. Above the Baccalaureate, with its different degrees, stood the rank of Licentiates, with the right of teaching general Biblical theology, and the formal, solemn reception among the Doctors of Theology. Luther attained to the grade of Bachelor of the

Sacred Scriptures at the end of the winter half year, March 9, 1509. Agreeably to the rules of the University, he could reach the second grade after the lapse of six months, and immediately at the end of the following half year he had fulfilled all the conditions demanded.

But before the acquired privileges of a *Sententarius* could be exercised by him, he was called back to Erfurt by the Superior of his order. The reason we do not know: only this is certain—that he also, in the Theological Faculty there, discharged the duties of a Teacher, for his academical rank acquired in Wittenberg was also acknowledged in Erfurt. He remained there three sessions, then he returned to Wittenberg University, never again to be separated from it. Towards the end of the year 1510, Trutvetter was again called to Erfurt. The return of Luther may have had some connection with the vacancy thus made in the Wittenberg Faculty. At any rate, his position in Wittenberg was very different from that which he sustained before; no old theologian of celebrity now outranked him.

But very soon after, there was another commission referring to his Order entrusted to him; this showed the confidence his superiors had in his zeal for the Order, his practical good sense, and his energy. The business was simply this: Staupitz was extremely desirous that the other German Augustinian cloisters should join the alliance with the convents which had reformed their morals and discipline, and subject themselves to the Vicar of the latter. As the others, however, opposed any such alliance, Luther, doubtless induced by Staupitz, was sent to Rome in January, 1511, on this affair, where the decision was to be made. The journey to Rome and back may have taken up at least six weeks. According to custom and order, two monks were always sent out together, and usually a lay brother accompanied them as a servant and guide. They generally traveled on foot. The Augustinian convent, *Maria del Popolo*, entertained the brethren of the Order. Thus Luther drew near to Rome, the seat of the chief head of the church. He remained there four weeks, negotiating his business and inspecting the city, especially the churches and other sacred places.

We do not distinctly know the result of his transactions; we only know that Staupitz, the Vicar of the Order, continued to be on friendly terms with the other convents which had objected

to his proposition, and that he no longer pressed it upon their attention.

The observations made by Luther on this tour, and the experience he gained, most concern us. Often, in after years, did he allude to it in his discussions, conversation, and writings. What he heard and saw at the seat of the papacy, appeared to him unspeakably important and useful.

With all the devotion of a pilgrim, he arrived in the city, towards which he had long looked with holy reverence. Among his temptations was a wish, that he might once in Rome make a general confession. When he first came in sight of St. Peter's he fell to the ground, lifted up his hands, and exclaimed: "Hail! holy Rome!" She was, as he afterwards expressed it, truly holy or sanctified, by the holy martyrs and their blood which was there shed. Much displeased with himself, he used to relate, that like one of the stupid pilgrim saints he wandered through all the churches and grottoes, and believed every lie and baseless, vulgar legend that was told him. He was, during his visit, very anxious, by reading masses and other performances at peculiarly sacred places, to contribute something towards the salvation of his friends; he says, he was almost sorry that his parents were yet living, because he might there have done something effectual towards delivering them out of purgatory.

But in all this he found no satisfaction for his mind; on the contrary, there was aroused in him a consciousness of another way of salvation which had previously found root. Whilst he was climbing on his knees, in devout prayer, the steps of the holy staircase, which tradition says formerly stood before the judgment hall of Pilate, and which at the present day promises rich papal indulgences, the words of Paul, Rom. i. 17, occurred to his mind: "The just shall live by faith."

He could find nothing among the Roman priests and monks that could contribute to his spiritual edification or comfort. The external management of business affairs, and the neatly regulated methods of judicial proceedings, appeared to him worthy of recognition. But what he heard at this centre of Christianity, of the religious and moral life and conduct of the people, shocked him. The immorality of the clergy, and especially of the highest dignitaries, who even took credit to themselves, if they did not wallow in unnatural excesses and the lowest vices, the frivolous

indifference with which the most sacred services were performed, the vulgar infidelity which the shepherds and rulers of the church expressed among each other without shame, and also openly exhibited, roused his righteous indignation. He complains of having heard priests holding mass "rips raps," as he called it, "as though they were performing an act of jugglery;" in the time in which he could say one mass they had finished seven; one of the priests urged him to hurry on with the words—"Quick, quick; send the Son of our dear Lady home to heaven again!"* He, moreover, heard it related as a joke, that priests, whilst in the mass they were to consecrate the bread and wine, added in Latin the words: "Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt remain." He often mentioned afterwards how they contemptuously applied the Italian phrase "Bon Christian"—Good Christian—to people who were still stupid enough to believe in the gospel and to take offense at their frivolities. "No one can believe the scandalous acts which are openly done, unless you have seen or heard them." But of that which he there observed, we have sufficient testimony from the persons themselves whose life and conduct were so offensive to him.

At the same time he was scandalized at the deprecatory tone in which the "stupid Germans," or "the German beasts," were spoken of, to whom in Rome no respect whatever was shown.

He was amazed at the pomp and magnificence in which the pope in Rome appeared. He speaks as one who had himself witnessed them and the processions in which the pope flourished as a triumphant warrior. But at that time the disgraceful reports concerning the preceding Pope Alexander and his children—the fratricides, poisonings, incests, and other flagitious crimes, were still fresh in Rome. He did not hear anything praiseworthy of Julius II., the pope then upon the throne; other than that he was energetic and expert in conducting his worldly affairs—waged war, hoarded money, entered into political alliances and violated them, made promises and broke them. Just at that time he returned from a campaign in which he had himself led the bloody storming of a city. But Luther at the same time bore witness to the

*This profane expression can only be understood by those who know that in the mass the priest is presumed to bring Christ down from heaven, and that when it is finished, he returns.

fact that an efficient police had been established in the holy city, and that the streets were kept clean, so that the city almost entirely escaped pestilence of any kind. But in the pope he saw a mere man of the world, and later he denounced him as a bloody tyrant.

Such observations at that time did not depreciate in his esteem the authority of the hierarchy, which had such wretched representatives; but afterwards, when he himself was compelled to assail the papal office, his previous experience greatly facilitated his labor. He could speak of what he himself had seen, and had not to depend upon others for facts. He was capable of forming his own judgment. He said: "I would not take a hundred thousand guilders, and not have seen Rome; otherwise I might have some fear that I did the pope injustice; but we speak what we have seen."

He wandered also among the ruins of the old city, and was astonished at the remains of its by-gone glory. The works of modern art, which Pope Julius was beginning to call into existence, did not seem to attract his special attention. The pope had already begun the erection of the new St. Peter's; the Indulgences, from which the revenue was derived to carry on this colossal undertaking, subsequently were the occasion of the conflict between the Augustinian monk of Wittenberg and the pope of Rome.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER AS A THEOLOGICAL TEACHER, TO 1517.

AFTER Luther had returned to Wittenberg, he was appointed Sub Prior of the cloister.

As he was now licentiate and Doctor, he was entitled to all the rights and immunities of the theological professorship. It was again his superior and friend, Staupitz, who insisted upon this step, whilst he himself withdrew from the university and devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office as vicar. The Elector Frederick, whose attention was particularly called to Luther by a sermon of his, now for the first time showed any personal interest in him; he offered to pay the expenses for him arising out of his promotion to the doctorate. Luther objected to it; ten years after, he took pleasure in pointing out the pear-tree under which he and Staupitz conversed upon the subject, the latter pressing his purpose strongly. Luther was the more conscious of the responsibility of the task assigned him, as he was still struggling after true and new theological light for himself. Afterwards, when his vocation led him into quite unexpected and onerous labors and conflicts, it was consoling to him that at that time he entered upon its duties from a mere sense of obedience, and as it were against his own will. And amid its burdens and perils, he could then also say, "If I had known what I know now, ten horses should not have drawn me to it."

After the necessary preparations and usual literary performances, he received on October 4, 1512, the rights of a licentiate, and on the 18th and 19th was solemnly promoted and proclaimed to the degree of Doctor. As licentiate, he vowed to defend the truth of the gospel according to his ability; he must have had this oath in view later, when he readily referred to it as having sworn to preach his dearly beloved holy Scriptures faithfully and purely. The oath of the doctorate which followed, bound him to abstain from frivolous doctrines which were condemned by the church and offensive to pious ears. Obedience to the pope was not exacted at Wittenberg as at other universities.



LUTHER IS WITH GREAT SOLEMNITIES CREATED AND CONSECRATED DOCTOR
OF DIVINITY AND TEACHER OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

Others as well as Staupitz, expected from the beginning something extraordinary and significant from the new professor. Pollich, the first great man of old Wittenberg, who died in the following year, already expressed the sentiment that this monk would bring about a revolution in the method of teaching, which hitherto prevailed in all the schools. The depth of Luther's penetration, as indicated by his remarkably piercing eyes, is said to have struck Pollich, as we shall hereafter hear of others; he drew the inference that such eyes betokened wonderful ideas.

In fact, a new theology was at once foreshadowed in the subject towards which as Doctor he directed his lectures and to which he constantly adhered. That was the Holy Scriptures alone, the study of which in the school theology was universally regarded as a secondary matter, which it was said many doctors of theology scarcely knew and which already the bachelors of divinity looked upon as subordinate, and devoted themselves to the scholastic "sentences" and a development of ecclesiastical dogmas in accordance with them.

Luther began with lectures on the Psalms. This is his first theological work which has come down to us. There is still extant a Latin text of the Psalter, to which he has written running notes, as well as heads and leading remarks for his lectures. He here also asserts that this task was assigned to him by command; he openly acknowledges that he himself yet knew too little of the Psalms; the relation between his notes and lectures also shows how he was constantly occupied in the further investigation of this subject. His interpretation of the Psalms at that time, as well as his later work in this direction, does not come up to our requirements. He still pursues the mediæval method, in presuming that he must everywhere recognize in the words of the Psalmist figurative and allegorical references to Christ, his work of redemption and his church. But even this method afforded him the opportunity of setting forth the principles of that doctrine of salvation, which had been gradually and firmly fixed in his mind by his previous theological studies. And here we may observe, that besides the results of his own study of the scriptures, and especially of the epistles of Paul, his use of the writings of St. Augustin greatly contributed to establish him in the true faith. It was only after he had belonged to the Order for years and after he had independently pursued Bible studies, that

he became acquainted with the writings of that eminent Father of the church. They particularly aided him in the better understanding of Paul, and of the doctrine of divine grace as founded upon that of Paul. Thus the master of the Order became to him the first master among human theologians.

From his lectures on the Psalms, he proceeded in the following year to the interpretation of those epistles which were to him the chief sources of his newly acquired knowledge of God's grace and righteousness—and these were the epistles to the Romans and the Galatians.

The theological studies of the Brothers in the cloisters were also under the direction of Luther. He was assisted by his friend, John Lange, who had formerly been his fellow student at Erfurt. He was distinguished for his knowledge of Greek, and in that respect was also of service to Luther, whilst he on the other hand was indebted to Luther for the richest instruction in various branches of philosophy. Wenceslaus Link, the Prior of the convent, who a year before had also been made a Doctor in the Theological Faculty, was also bound to him by ties of long existing friendship, as well as by sympathy of sentiment. Perhaps they had both been pupils together in the school at Magdeburg. The fresh vigor and stirring life which were here awakened, more and more attracted young monks of talent from other places. The cloister was not yet quite finished, so that there was scarcely room enough for their accommodation, nor means for their support.

When, in 1515, the allied convents held a meeting in Gotha to elect new directors, Luther, under the chief vicariate of Staupitz, was chosen district vicar for Meissen and Thuringia. The oversight of eleven convents was committed to him, to which, in the following year, he made a visitation tour. We now behold him, with his usual energy and zeal, laboring personally, orally, and by letter, for the spiritual welfare of those confided to him, in exercising strict discipline upon unworthy Brothers, in consoling the tempted, as well as in improving the temporal affairs of the convents.

Besides his duties as professor, he performed the office of preacher. At first, he preached in his convent, which he had already begun to do in Erfurt. The church of the new cloister in Wittenberg was not yet finished. He began to proclaim the

gospel, and to develop his oratorical power in a small, wretched chapel, built of wood and clay, standing near. When, in the course of a few years, the city pastor of Wittenberg became infirm and sick, the congregation insisting upon Luther preaching also in their church, he discharged these various duties with energy and zeal. It sometimes happened that for a whole week he preached every day, and on more than one occasion three times on the same day. During Lent, in 1517, he preached twice every day, besides delivering his academic lectures. The zeal with which he preached God's word from the pulpit in the church was as peculiar and unusual for the times as the impressiveness with which he expounded the Scriptures from his professor's chair.

Of those first lectures upon the Psalms, and upon Paul to the Romans, Melancthon says: "After a long and dark night, a new light of Christian doctrine here shone forth; here Luther showed the difference between the law and the gospel; here he refuted the errors that were taught in the pulpits and professors' chairs, as if men could by their works merit the forgiveness of sin, and become righteous before God by external performances, as was formerly the doctrine of the Pharisees. Luther called men back again to the Son of God; as John the Baptist pointed to the Lamb of God, who bore our sins, so Luther showed that for Christ's sake sin is pardoned through grace, and that we must accept this benefit by faith."

The fact is, that the fundamental Christian conception, upon which the interior life of the Reformer rests, for which he entered into the conflict, and which gave him power and fresh courage for the battle, lies essentially in the lectures and sermons of those years before us, and increases constantly in distinctness and force. The new light, of which we have heard him speak above, now really broke out in his soul. That essential truth, which he subsequently designated as the article of the standing or falling church, is already fixed in his mind, before he had the least presentiment that it would create dissension between him and the Catholic church; yea, that his open stand in maintaining this doctrine would be the occasion of a reconstruction of the church.

The fundamental question, which was now uppermost in his mind and which constantly engaged his attention, continued to be this: How can a sinful man stand before God and secure sal-

vation? In other words, how can a man become righteous before God?

Now he was no longer alarmed by the punitive righteousness of God, with which the Holy Ghost threatens the sinner; but he recognized that righteousness revealed in the gospel (Rom. i. 17, iii. 25), by which a merciful God makes the believer righteous, by bringing him into a proper relation to it, and inwardly renews him and continuously allows him as a child to enjoy His saving paternal love. While Luther now teaches that this is imparted to the believer, he dismisses the opinion above all, that men can ever by their outward deeds "make satisfaction for their sins and merit the favor of God." In relation to moral works in general, he shows that good fruits always presuppose a good tree, from which alone they could proceed; and so from a man, that good can only come from him when he has become good internally, in his heart, thoughts and purposes—a man must be righteous before he can practice righteousness. But it is faith that in his view is of decisive importance in the heart of man for securing fellowship with God. For the inner nature of man can only gradually be truly rectified, and evil be extirpated by divine influences, when he surrenders himself to God. If Luther had founded salvation upon such a personal consciousness of right doing, which was to be a satisfaction to a holy God for wrong doing, he would, in the experience of his continued sins and infirmities, have despaired of this salvation. And all these operations of the Holy Ghost and of His gifts in us presuppose that we have become partakers of the pardoning grace of God, and have been received into fellowship with Him. This, as Luther teaches with Paul, we attain simply by faith in the glad tidings of His grace, in His mercy and His Son, whom He has given to us as a Redeemer. In his first notes on the Psalms, he already designates faith as the middle point, the narrow, the short way. Self-righteousness is, in his view, the worst enemy; he acknowledges that he himself must still contend with this foe.

Herein Luther also found the theology of Augustin in complete harmony with the testimony of the great apostle. Whilst he was studying Augustin, he learned to form a more discriminating judgment upon the power of sin and the inability of man to overcome it by his own strength. But Paul taught him to understand faith in a different sense from that in which

Augustin had understood it. It was not to him only an acknowledgment of objective truths or historical facts, but Luther comprehended in it with a distinct clearness, which fails in Augustin's system, a cordial confidence in the grace offered in the gospel, a personal reliance upon the Saviour Christ and in that which he procured for us. With this faith then, and by virtue of this Saviour in whom it trusts, we stand before God; we have already the certainty of the promised salvation, and are partakers of the Spirit from on high, who now more and more sanctifies our internal nature. On the other hand, Augustin and all Catholic theologians who are his followers, hold that the ground upon which we must stand before God is that internal condition of piety, which God himself restores in a man by His Spirit and the operations of grace, or, as we are accustomed to express it, that righteousness infused into him by God. By this doctrine, the good that is now in the Christian himself is rated so high, that by virtue of it he even secures merit before a righteous God, and can farther render more service than is demanded of him. But the conscience, which according to Luther's severe rule of judgment, estimated such virtues and performances or pious acts and the past as well as the continuous sins, could not attain a certainty of forgiveness, grace and salvation. But he found it in that simple faith. He did not feel the need of personal merit. The really good fruits which are acceptable to God, will be begotten in the Christian by the kindly spirit of adoption.

It was a long time before Luther became conscious of this disagreement with his principal teacher among theologians. But we observe it making its appearance in his principles from the beginning, and finally stamped very distinctly in the theology of the Reformer, upon the basis of apostolic doctrine.

The assertion of Melancthon quoted above, concerning the law and the gospel, has an immediate connection with that which has here been asserted. Luther afterwards always maintained, that upon a correct knowledge of the relation of both to one another, depends the entire understanding of the whole system of salvation as taught in the gospel; and this relation he brings fully to light in the few years before the beginning of his conflicts with the Church, based upon the lectures on Paul's epistles, which he was then delivering. The law in his view was the essential sum of the holy requirements of God in relation to willing and doing,

but which the sinner cannot fulfill; the gospel is the glad tidings, and the offer of that forgiving grace of God, which is accepted by a simple faith. By the former, says Luther, sinners are judged, tried, and sentenced to death; he himself was compelled to groan under it, and was seized with terrible alarm, as if he had been in the hands of a jailor or executioner. The gospel alone raises up the bowed down, and quickens them into life by faith, which the glad intelligence itself awakens in their hearts. But God works in both: in the law, by a work which is "strange" to Him, the God of Love; in the gospel, that work of love peculiar to Him, for which, however, He first prepares the sinner by the former, or the law.

Whilst Luther was continuing his researches in this direction, the sermons of the pious mediæval theologian Tauler (who died in 1361) fell into his hands, and at the same time (1516) he also found an old theological tract, written not long after Tauler, which was entitled "The German Theology." For the first time, and in its most worthy representatives, he here encountered that Christian and theological system of doctrine and practice, which is usually designated as the practical German mysticism of the Middle Ages. In contrast to the value which the mediæval churchliness attached to external works and legal exercises, he here found the most profound Christian sentiment. In opposition to the fruitless and formal hair-splitting definitions, and logical formulas of scholasticism, he here observed an ardent struggle of the whole inner man after immediate fellowship with God and unity with Him, who Himself draws the soul thus devoted into this unity with Himself, so that the soul itself becomes "like unto God." He had never seen even in Augustin such a depth of observation and such a glowing fervor of Christian emotion. He felt himself wonderfully attracted by this theology. He wrote to a friend that he knew no other which more closely harmonized with the gospel than that of Tauler's sermons. He published an edition of that tract in 1516 (at that time not altogether complete), and another in 1518. It was the first publication from his hand. His later sermons and writings show how copiously he drank at this fountain, and how thoroughly he was penetrated with the pious spirit of the book. The influences received from this source were of lasting importance to him in the thorough cultivation of his own heart as well as of his theology.

As to the nature of sin, he now for the first time recognized it in its radical and fundamental character, as consisting of self-will, self-love, and self-dependence. He held that fellowship with God required that the heart be sundered from the creature, and give itself over to death with its own will—that it become altogether nothing, and let God alone work and operate in it. Thus, as he says on the title page of "The German Theology," "Adam is to die in us, and Christ to arise."

But in contradistinction to the mystical, not less than to the Augustinian Theology, the peculiarity of his conception of the way of salvation as founded upon the Scriptures was still maintained; and, after it had been affected by those influences, it was then perfectly developed in its full independence in his conflicts with Rome. The decisive course to be pursued to secure fellowship with God, is not, in his view, as the mystic theology taught, a self-annihilation of all that is personal, and an abnegation of everything worldly and finite. A mere passive relation with God, and a salvation resulting therefrom, is not the last or highest aim of man. Our personal feelings must be annihilated only so far as they oppose themselves to God—they must be entirely suppressed, so far as they may make any claims to self-righteousness or merit before God. The way to real fellowship with God is, with Him, essentially the short way of faith, in which prostrated personal merit grasps the hand of divine mercy, and by it is now completely raised up.

Christ came for it (*i. e.* for the sake of this prostrate personal merit), so that it, as mysticism and the Scriptures say, may die with him, and follow him in self-renunciation. But that faith above all looks to Christ as the Saviour who died for us, and represents us before God in his holy life, so that the believer may be reconciled and saved through him. That which we have in this Saviour, Luther at that time, and in similar language also later, thus comprehensively expressed in his own mystical view and words: "Lord Jesus, thou hast taken to thyself what is mine, and given to me what is thine."

We can account in a general way for the diversities between Luther and the German mediæval mystics by the different views they held of the general relation subsisting between God and the human ethical personality. With the latter, along with the Christian view of this relation, there was held a metaphysical

view of it, that regarded God as an existence absolute, exalted above all definite characterization, seemingly rich, yet abstractedly vacant; that, moreover, tolerates no independent existence of the finite along side of itself. According to Luther, the prime characteristic of God is, that He is the perfectly good, and in his exaltation and holiness is love itself. It is this God who raises up and makes righteous the believing sinner. From this point then Luther also received power and energy to appear in the arena of conflict, whilst pious mysticism continued patiently silent. From this point also did he become conscious of Christian liberty and moral obligation relative to human living, and to his destiny in life, whilst mysticism was content to live in solitude and flee the world. However, the internal relationship between the views of Tauler and the Lutheran standpoint manifested itself still further, and continuously also, in the fact that the sermons of Tauler, so warmly recommended by Luther, had more attractions for members of the Protestant than for members of the Catholic church.

The practical religious thoughts which now permeated through all the discourses of Luther, were, what Christ suffered and did for us, and how through Him we attain to righteousness, peace and godly living. His learned theological lectures aimed at leading us to this life-giving knowledge, whilst the doctrinal investigations, subtle speculations and hair-splitting distinctions of the scholastic theology, were laid aside. In the beginning, when yet preaching in the convent, he had made some philosophical illustrations and allusions to Aristotle and celebrated scholastics, in his discourse on biblical subjects, as was the custom of learned pulpit orators. But at this time, he had entirely abandoned that practice; and besides, instead of the stiff, formal, mechanical plan of sermons then prevalent, he introduced a plain, natural style, which permitted him to allow his ardent emotions to flow forth in a free, living stream; and it was this familiar, unconstrained, heart-searching method, which distinguished him above all the preachers of his times. Before his city congregations he delivered, in 1516 and 1517, a series of sermons on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, in order to show them the connection of Christian truth. For the benefit of Christian readers in general, he published in 1517, an explanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms. It is his first composition as an author,

which he himself published and the first in the German language which we possess (for the later published lectures were delivered in Latin, and the oldest sermons of his which we now have, were written in Latin.)

Luther having now attained to a knowledge of the truth, there rose in him a strong disposition to set aside the doctrine and mode of teaching inculcated by the scholastic theology. He had made his own way through it by hard and useless labor, and saw how it darkened and hemmed in the truth. At the same time he turned against Aristotle, the heathen philosopher, from whom the scholastics have received their empty and perverted formalism, whose Physics are of no value, and who is particularly blind in his conception of moral life and moral good, inasmuch as he knows nothing of the nature and ground of the true righteousness of which we have spoken. The scholastics, as Luther charged them, really did not, in general, understand the true, original philosophy of Aristotle. That which is really great and important, which we must attribute to it in the development of human thought and knowledge, was certainly far removed from those profound questions of internal moral and religious life which now entirely pervaded Luther's spirit, and from those truths to which he had now begun to bear witness. In a series of theses he brought out in sharp prominence his doctrine of human inability and divine grace, allied to that of Augustin, and his opposition to the prevailing schools and their master, Aristotle, which theses the pupils of Luther made the subjects of disputation. By this publication, he also expected to draw out the opinion of others, particularly that of his teacher Trutvetter.

He already had occasion to rejoice, that in Wittenberg, his, or as he was accustomed to call it, the Augustinian theology, had accomplished the victory. Theologians, who had there taught before him and entirely in the scholastic method, adopted it, and among them Carlstadt, who tried even to exceed all others in this direction, and subsequently in his reforming zeal came in conflict with Luther. Another, worthy of special mention, was Nicolas von Amsdorf, whom we shall hereafter see standing by the side of Luther as his personal friend and a most energetic Lutheran.

The convent at Erfurt, in which Luther formerly lived, now received as its Prior, his friend and fellow-believer, Lange—who

returned thither from Wittenberg, whilst his former teachers at that place could not harmonize with Luther's new views. One circumstance very important for his operations and position, was his intimacy with George Spalatin (properly Burkhardt, from Spelt). He was the court preacher and private secretary of the Elector Frederick the Wise, a conscientious, pure-minded theologian, and a man of general culture and calm, sound judgment. He was of the same age as Luther, and was with him at Erfurt when he began to study. They were together as students for some time there, and afterwards at Wittenberg, where he officiated as tutor of the young princes. Luther prized him as a sincere warm-hearted friend, and the Elector no less cherished him as a faithful, circumspect counsellor. Through his influence, the favorable regard of the Elector was always directed towards Luther, and his esteem was displayed by gifts, one of which was that of a piece of beautiful cloth, which Luther thought was too good for a cowl. Spalatin had also belonged to that circle of poets at Erfurt, and continued his connection with it. He corresponded with Erasmus, the chief of the Humanists, and was the means of bringing Luther into relations with men of distinction and influence elsewhere.

In other parts of Germany, we see "the theology of Augustin" or "of Saint Paul," which was brought into prominence by Luther, first securing a strong support from friends at Nürnberg; in 1517, W. Link went to that city as Prior of the Augustinian convent.

We have seen how Luther, as a student already in Erfurt, cherished fellowship with young Humanists. Now, whilst he was advancing in theology in his way, he did not cease to be concerned in the general scientific interests represented by Humanism. He had some correspondence with the celebrated Martianus Rufus in Gotha, whom those young poets honored as their master, and with whom, at the same time, his friends Lange and Spalatin also exchanged letters. When the Humanist Reuchlin, at that time the best Hebrew scholar and teacher of that language of his time, was branded as a heretic by over-zealous theologians and monks, on account of his protest against the burning of Jewish and Rabbinical books, and out of which arose a furious combat of the Humanists against those abettors of ignorance and darkness, Luther, when asked for his opinion of

the affair by Spalatin, took a strong and decided stand in favor of Reuchlin, and denounced his opponents as those who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. His heart, he said, was so full of this business, that his tongue could not express it. But the spirited satire employed by his former university friend Crotus and other Humanists, in books like the celebrated "Letters of Obscure Men," to render those opponents ridiculous, were not to his taste. The affair to him was too serious to be so lightly treated.

Erasmus, by his vast attainments, keenness of intellect, and numerous literary contributions, had acquired the highest position among the men who resuscitated the study of antiquity, and who labored to render it tributary to the present, and to improve theology. Just about this time, 1516, there appeared from his hands an edition of the New Testament, with a translation and explanatory notes. This act created an epoch; Luther acknowledged his distinguished talents and merits, and hoped that through this act he might exert the influence to which his learning entitled him. In letters to Spalatin, he calls him "our Erasmus." But even now, already, he maintained his own independence, and takes the liberty of expressing a free opinion concerning him. He laments a double failure; above all, that he also, which was really the fact, did not fully comprehend Paul's fundamental doctrines of human sin and of the righteousness of the law, and of the true righteousness of God; and further, that he makes the imperfections of the church, over which every Christian mourns before God in deep distress, a subject of merriment. He, however, desired to keep his judgment of Erasmus a secret, so as not to give the wicked and envious opponents of the man any encouragement.

There was already no lack of irritation and animosity which Luther's writings and operations awakened in the minds of those who had until now been the representatives of the prevailing theological and ecclesiastical tendencies. But he himself had no anticipation that he would have to dissolve his connection with the ecclesiasticism of the day, with its authorities and fundamental forms. Judicial proceedings were instituted against him first, when he afterwards saw himself driven to conclusions, by which the power of the hierarchy, and at the same time its immense pecuniary gains, were menaced.

As yet he expressed and entertained no thought against the lawful bonds which held every Christian subject to the priesthood and their authority. True, in his system of doctrine, he showed the way which leads the soul to its God and Saviour by simple faith in the word of grace offered to all. But he still saw it in no other light than that every one should yet confess to the priest, receive absolution from him, and submissively take upon himself all the penalties prescribed, and perform all the works imposed. In that doctrine he was in perfect accord with Augustin, the most distinguished teacher in the Western Church, whilst the opposite views had received an actual acknowledgment, but not as yet a formal ecclesiastical sanction. He zealously covered up or connived at many practical abuses and aberrations from the strict rules of church religious life. But they were only such as were then, and had long before been, lamented and opposed, and which the Church had never expressly declared to be constituent parts of her own ordinances. He openly inveighed against superstition in veneration of the saints, against absurd legends, and the heathenish method of invoking the saints for worldly possessions. But that men should pray to the saints for their intercession with God, he still justifies against Bohemian heresy, which had its rise in the teachings of Huss, and in his sermons he himself yet invoked the holy virgin. It was his wish that the priests and bishops should discharge their duties much more faithfully and conscientiously than had hitherto been done. He held it to be their duty to be concerned for the welfare of souls instead of worldly affairs, by feeding their flocks with the Word of God. The office of a bishop is, in his view, unspeakably responsible, and even dangerous, on account of the many heavy burdens and temptations associated with it, and hence he does not desire his friend Staupitz to assume it. But the divine origin and the divine right of the hierarchical offices of the papacy, the episcopacy, and the priesthood, and the infallibility of the Church thus governed, were yet to him unassailable points. The Bohemians, who had renounced the church, were in his view "wretched heretics." At that time he yet maintained those conclusions by which the Church of Rome and her theology afterwards thought that the principles and claims of our Reformation might be overthrown; let that ecclesiastical and papal authority be denied, then every one might say he was inspired by the Holy Ghost; every one could

set up his own authority, and there would be as many churches as there are persons.

It was only against abuses which were not sanctioned by the Catholic Church herself that he then wished to protest, and this condition of things continued until the scandals of the traffic in Indulgences summoned him to the field of battle. It was only when in this contest the pope and the hierarchy aimed at robbing him of his evangelical system of salvation, and the enjoyment of Christian faith and hope, that planting himself firmly upon this Gospel basis, he began his attack upon the foundations of the Church of Rome.

BOOK III.

THE RUPTURE WITH ROME, TO THE DIET OF
WORMS. 1517-1521.

CHAPTER I.

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES.

THE erection of the most magnificent cathedral, which agreeably to the wishes of the popes, modern Italian art could create—the building of St. Peter's church, which had already been begun when Luther was in Rome (1510-11)—gave occasion to the conflict which led to the great division in the Christian world. The sale of Indulgences was destined to furnish Luther not only the occasion, but the means. Leo X. succeeded Julius II. in the papal chair. Leo was just the man, as far the times were favorable, to revive the various arts, to draw from obscurity the science of the ancients, and thereby to open to the cultivated, elevated classes of society, a rich source of intellectual enjoyment. But whilst he displayed a commendable zeal in such æsthetic labors, and had a fine taste for the productions of the pencil and the chisel, the care of the church and the internal wants of the flock, which he promised in Christ's stead to feed, were altogether foreign to him. The morally frivolous tone which characterized the papal chair was regarded as a constituent element of the new era of refinement. With respect to Christian faith, Leo is said to have uttered a blasphemous expression relative to the lucrative character of this fable about Christ. He felt no scruple whatever in employing the most ungodly and soul-destroying means in gathering money for the erection of this house of God, which, as he said, would protect and glorify the bones of the holy apostles. At the same time, the popes were accustomed shamelessly to divert into their own private treasuries a large portion of the Indulgence money which was received for other objects, as for example, to carry on the war against the Turks.

But before we can properly appreciate this affair of Indulgences and Luther's attack upon them, we must first more closely ascertain the importance which the teachers of the church attached to the subject. When we hear it simply said, that remission or forgiveness of sins could be bought for money, of course offence will be felt, wherever anything like moral or Christian conscience still

exists. We must also wonder that Luther only so cautiously and gradually, as we shall see, came to the conclusion of entirely rejecting the doctrine and practice of Indulgences. But the principles on which the system was illustrated and justified, were not so coarsely and plainly expressed. It was maintained, that the forgiveness of sins was to be secured by repentance, that is, by means of the so-called penitential sacrament with the act of private confession and priestly absolution. Then the confessor pronounces absolution to him who has acknowledged his sins, by which the guilt is forgiven, and the eternal punishment remitted. From the penitent is demanded a certain contrition of heart, even if an imperfect one, which may proceed only from the fear of punishment; but it is regarded as satisfactory, for this imperfection is supplemented by the sacrament. But the person thus absolved must even then endure heavy burdens of temporal punishment, punitive penances, which the church imposes upon him, and chastisements which the righteousness of God in the remission of eternal punishment still inflicts upon him. If he has not been delivered from all his offences in this earthly life he must, although he is no longer threatened with the pains of hell, atone for them in the torments of purgatory.

Just here the Indulgence comes in: the church is satisfied with very light penitential acts, as at that time with a contribution of money towards the sacred edifice in Rome, and even for that there was given a certain plausible basis; the church, for instance, has the management of a treasury of merits, which Christ and his saints, by their good works before a righteous God, have collected, the riches of which are now according to the direction of the substitute of Christ (the pope) dispensed for the benefit of the purchasers of Indulgences. In this way penances, which persons had grievously to endure for years, can now be paid off in small, hastily-made money contributions. The contrition which was a constituent of the reception of pardon was, however, not left unmentioned; allusion was made to it in the official proclamations of the Indulgence and in the letters or certificates, which announced Indulgence to each when the money was paid. But in these documents, and especially in the sermons in which the people were exhorted to become purchasers, the greatest importance was attached to the payment, and that too with all possible impressiveness. In connection with this, the confession

with the contrition was mentioned, but no mention was intentionally made of the fact that real remission of guilt is conditioned on contrition, and not on the payment of money; "complete forgiveness of all sins" was declared to him who threw his contribution into the box, after he had confessed and felt this contrition. For the souls in purgatory nothing was demanded besides the money which the living brought for them. To this was applicable a popular distich:

"Soon as the groschen in the casket rings,
The troubled soul from purgatory springs."

In connection with this there were taxes imposed for individual sins; for example: For adultery, six ducats.

For a large portion of Germany, the trade in Indulgences for the benefit of St. Peter's church was given by the pope in commission to Archbishop Albert of Mainz and Magdeburg. This man, the most exalted German ecclesiastical prince, will be encountered by us again in the history of this great movement, and we shall learn all about his conduct during its progress. Albert, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, and cousin of the Grand Master of the German Order in Prussia, stood at the head of those two great German church provinces in 1517, although he was then only twenty-seven years of age. Wittenberg also belonged to his Magdeburg diocese. As his good fortune so suddenly elevated him to this exalted position, he bore himself proudly. But with theology he concerned himself very little. As the friend of the new Humanistic science, like Erasmus for instance, and as the patron of the fine arts, especially of architecture, he was ambitious of flourishing in pomp, and maintaining a court, the magnificence of which should correspond with his dignity and his love of art. His means were not adequate to this display. He had already been compelled to borrow from the bankers Fugger, in Augsburg, 30,000 guilders to pay the pope for the pallium, which the popes bestowed upon archbishops as a badge of their dignity. It was a costly article of dress, and this and other heavy expenses kept him in heavy debt during his whole life. He succeeded now in negotiating this Indulgence traffic with the pope. One of the provisions was, that he was to keep one half of the income, that he might pay the Fuggers their money. Behind the Indulgence preachers, who proclaimed the

grace of heaven to the purchasing believers, there stood agents of that banking house, who gathered in the portion allotted to them. John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, endowed with consummate arrogance, and with popular talent of haranguing the stupid multitude, contributed most to the prosecution of this disgraceful trade. He was a man notoriously immoral and base, and him the archbishop appointed his sub-commissioner.

Contemporaries tell us of the dignified solemnity with which such a commissioner made his appearance, and opened his highly lauded traffic. Priests, monks, magistrates, schoolmaster and pupils, men, women and children, met him in procession with singing, ringing of bells, banners, and lighted candles. Amid the full tones of the organ, he was conducted into the church. In the middle of the house of God, before the altar, a large red cross was erected; on this was hung a silken banner which bore the papal arms. Before the cross was placed a large iron chest to receive the money—specimens of these chests of these times are still exhibited at many places—with daily sermons, hymns, processions round the cross, and other performances; the people were invited and urged to avail themselves of the offered incomparable means of salvation. Provision was made that the auricular confession of masses might be hastily heard through a single representative. The object was the payment, upon which "the contrite" sinners received from the commissioner a so-called Letter of Indulgence, in which he certified to them by virtue of the power committed to him, that they were completely absolved, and that every one beside should after that recognize that authority.

We still possess specimens of Tetzel's sermons. Directing the attention of the people to the Indulgence, he made the proclamation that all sinners, and particularly the greatest, such as murderers, robbers, etc., should turn to their God, and receive the medicine for their souls, which the Almighty in His mercy and wisdom had provided for them. "Saint Stephen once gave himself up to be stoned, St. Laurence consented to be roasted, St. Bartholomew was skinned: now will not you at least make the sacrifice of a small donation to save your souls?" Of the souls in purgatory, he said: "They, your parents and relations, cry out to you: 'we are suffering cruel tortures, you might redeem us with a little gift, and you will not; we have begotten, supported

you; we have bequeathed to you our earthly possessions, and you are so cruel and unfeeling, as to leave us here in the flames, when you might so easily rescue us!'"

All, who in any way directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, depreciated the Indulgence; who murmured against it, or who in any way opposed it, were informed, that according to the papal edict, they had already subjected themselves to excommunication, and that they could be absolved from it by the pope or his representative.

After Luther had ventured to assail the Indulgence business, some of its advocates and violent opponents of the Reformer admitted that, "at that time avaricious commissioners, monks, and priests, had preached in a shameless manner on Indulgences, and attached more importance to money than to confession, repentance and true contrition." Christian people were offended and scandalized at these infamous proceedings. Thus it was asked, whether God loved money so dearly, that for the sake of a miserable groschen he would permit a soul to suffer the torments of eternal perdition; or, why does not the pope out of love, empty the whole of purgatory, when for the sake of such a small affair, as a contribution to the erection of a church, he rescues innumerable souls from it?" But none of them at that time found it advisable to speak a word openly against the abominable nuisance from which the pope and the archbishop derived such immense benefits. They were afraid of invoking upon themselves the insults and curses of Tetzel.

Now Tetzel himself approached the frontiers of the Electorate and the vicinity of Wittenberg. The Elector would not permit him to enter his territory, so that too much money might not be dragged away. Hence Tetzel opened his traffic in Juterbock. Some of Luther's own church members, who confessed to him, also resorted to the Letter of Indulgence, which they procured at that place.

Luther had already warned his hearers against it in a sermon in the summer of 1516. He did not conceal his thoughts upon the subject generally, whilst he at the same time confessed, that upon some questions relating to it he was still in doubt and ignorance. He was also aware, that with such opinions and objections he touched the heart of his own kindly disposed and gracious sovereign, Frederick the Wise, who, in his sincere

piety, still cherished the overwhelming veneration of the Middle Ages for relics, and who had made a rich collection of them in his castle church at Wittenberg, and was constantly adding to it, was pleased at the extensive Indulgence which the pope freely granted to all who, at the annual exhibition of these sacred relics, devoutly prayed at the nineteen altars of the church. It was only a few years before that he had published a "Relic Book," which had a list of over 5,000 such relics, and which showed how a man could here secure 300,000 days of Indulgence. Luther afterwards relates, that by preaching a sermon in the castle church against the Indulgence he "gained small credit" from Frederick; he also, in February, 1517, preached in the same strain during the exhibition of the relics. The honor and interests of his University were bound up with this exhibition, for that church was connected with the University, the official positions in the church were bestowed upon the professors, and the income was appropriated to its support. It was thus the interest of the professors to be reserved in their opposition to Indulgences.

Subsequently, Luther says of himself, that at that time he was a young Doctor, fiery and fresh from the forge. He burned with vehement desire to attack the nuisance. But he still held back. He expressed his opinions in letters to some bishops. Several received his remonstrances kindly, others laughed at him, none were willing to lay hold of the subject.

Now he had made up his mind publicly to present his thoughts, his own principles and doubts on indulgences, to the theologians and churchmen generally, to excite public action on the subject, and to provoke and sustain a controversy. This he did on the 31st of October, the day before All Saints, and of the festival of celebrating the consecration of the Castle-church, by attaching to the door of the Castle church the celebrated Ninety-five Theses in Latin.

They were intended as theses for disputation, for at that time public discussions constituted an important part of the life, labors and conflicts of the Universities and theologians. They were not merely displays of scientific thought and philosophical analysis, but they were designed to bring out the truth distinctly by free and open discussion.

The title to Luther's was—



LUTHER AFFIXES HIS NINETY-FIVE PROPOSITIONS TO THE CHURCH DOOR.

A DISPUTATION ON THE POWER OF INDULGENCES.

"Impelled by motives of love, and a sincere effort to bring the truth to light, there will be a discussion upon the following at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther. . . . Those who cannot be present to consider the subject with us, may do so in writing. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ Amen."

It was in entire accordance with the custom of the times, that at the celebration of a great festival, when crowds of people were assembled, a University discussion should take place, and that a church-door should be used for posting the advertisement.

The import of the theses shows, that he really meant to have a disputation in its literal sense. He is determined to contend with all sharpness for certain fundamental truths, of which he is well convinced. Some points were to him yet doubtful, but he seeks to render them clear to himself in discussing them with others.

Agreeably to the connection in which Indulgences stood related to the church idea of repentance, he proceeds upon the ground of true Christian repentance; but he will have it understood in the sense of Jesus and of the Scriptures, just as Staupitz himself had formerly taught it to him. He begins with the thesis "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, when he says: 'Repent,' etc., etc., he demands that the whole life of believers should be repentance." He means, as the other theses express it, true, internal sorrow for sin, a hatred against all sinful selfishness, an abandonment of all evil, from which righteous external action and a crucifixion of the sinful flesh must proceed. The pope could remit the guilt of the penitent only so far, by declaring that God had remitted it.

The theses expressly assert, that God will forgive the guilt of no one without humbly submitting himself before the priest, who is God's representative, and acknowledging the punishments which the church authority imposes in that external sacrament of penance. But in opposition to the usual proclamation of Indulgence, the chief points in the doctrine of Indulgence are here added. The pope could only grant Indulgence for that which he himself and the church law had imposed; even the pope himself understands only the remission of these penalties, when he promises a complete remission of all penalties. The penalties

which the church discipline imposes affect only the living; nothing according to its laws could be imposed upon souls in another world.

Luther further says: "If a man experiences genuine sorrow for sin, he receives full remission from penalty and guilt even without a letter of Indulgence. A true penitent he thinks would readily inflict a penalty upon himself, and love to do so." And yet he desires that Indulgences, if they are understood in the proper sense, should by no means be opposed, but only the senseless gabble of the Indulgence traffickers. Blessed is he, he says, who rises up against them; cursed is he who opposes the truth of apostolic Indulgence. But he finds it very difficult to commend this in the presence of the people, and at the same time to impress upon their hearts genuine repentance. He also wished it to be taught that a Christian does better by spending money for the poor than for the purchase of an Indulgence; and that he who permits a poor man to starve by his side, brings upon himself not an Indulgence, but the wrath of God. In sharp and sneering words, he censures the proceedings of those preachers, and in plain language attributes also to the pope the abhorrence which he feels. Christians should be taught, says he, that, if the pope knew all this, he would rather see St. Peter's laid in ashes than allow it to be built with the skin, bones and flesh of his flock.

Corresponding with that which the preceding theses had said of the earnestness and self-denial of true repentance in a willingness to endure penalty, and of the carnal security which Indulgence preaching begets, he concluded with the following thoughts: "Hence, away with all prophets who proclaim to Christ's people Peace, peace, when there is no peace; welcome all those prophets who say to Christ's people Cross, cross, when there is no cross. Christians must be admonished, that they must follow their Head, Christ, through suffering, death, and hell, and comfort themselves with entering the kingdom of heaven rather through various tribulations than through a false security of peace."

The Catholic party usually objected to Luther's gospel doctrine of salvation, on the ground of its leading to moral inactivity, by reliance upon God's free grace, and by a depreciation of good works. But the unbending moral earnestness of a Christian con-

science which, by the temptation to moral superficiality, to delusive security in sin and guilt, and to an undervaluing of genuine moral fruits in comparison with the worth of Indulgence money—it was this conscience which really brought out and permeated the theses, in which we properly discern the beginning of our Reformation history. In the same earnestness he here, for the first time, openly attacked the ecclesiastical papal authority; in so far as it, according to his conviction, encroached upon that domain which the Heavenly Master and Judge had reserved for himself. It was this which the pope and his theologians and churchmen could least endure.

On the same day he sent a letter, accompanied by a copy of the theses, to Archbishop Albert, his “venerated and most gracious lord and bishop in Christ.” After an humble introduction, he most earnestly implored him to check the offensive, ruinous discourses, in which his emissaries lauded Indulgences, and reminded him of the account he would have to give for the souls entrusted to his especial care.

The day after, he preached a sermon in celebration of the festival. After he had admonished his hearers to seek their salvation alone in God and Christ, and to make the church consecration a true dedication of heart; he also taught them that Indulgence released them only from penalties imposed by the church, and warned them against putting any further confidence in it, or on its account neglecting the duty of genuine repentance.

CHAPTER II.

THE INDULGENCE CONTROVERSY.

HE who has observed that the great excitement which the German Reformation occasioned, and with it the establishment of the Evangelical church, are to be attributed to the Ninety-five Theses, and then reads them in their full extent, may perhaps be astonished at the importance which they assumed. At first they were concerned only about an isolated point of Christian doctrine—not even about the fundamental question: how does a sinner really attain to forgiveness and salvation? but only about the remission of those penalties connected with penance. They contain no positive expressions against the essential constituents of the church theory of penance, nor against the necessity of auricular confession, nor priestly absolution. They also presuppose the existence of purgatory. Neither had any one of the mediæval or of the learned theologians of that time, ventured to maintain many things which the theses assailed; for instance, the question whether the real remission of guilt on the part of God is ratified by the Indulgence. Such positions, further, which became prominent in the theology of that day which defended Indulgences, were supported really on the authority of the scholastic master Thomas Aquinas, but were not adopted by other scholastics, and were never established as dogmas by an ecclesiastical decision. Individual theologians in earlier times already had attacked the whole Indulgence system in a far sharper and more vigorous style than Luther did in his theses.

Concerning the effect of the theses in wider circles of German Christendom, it must be remembered that they were not only written in the Latin language, but also for the most part they employed expressions and conveyed ideas of the schools, which a layman found it difficult to understand.

But notwithstanding this, the theses immediately created a sensation which far exceeded Luther's expectations. They ran, as he himself later says, throughout all Germany in about fourteen days, and were also circulated in the German language.

They found the ground already prepared in the dissatisfaction which the shameless traffic had extensively excited, whilst no one until then, as he expresses it, was willing to tie the bell to the cat—no one was willing to become a victim to the calumnious clamor of the indulgence traffickers, or expose himself to the threat of being denounced as a heretic.

On the other hand, after such a traffic had been continued and maintained by new efforts all through Germany without opposition, the audacious assurance with which it was carried on rose to a still higher pitch. The whole influential order of Dominicans especially, stood up perseveringly for the doctrine of St. Thomas, to which they all appealed. And of this order the indulgence commissioner Tetzel was a member. Furthermore, until that time, the doctrines of the power of the pope, of the authority which he exercises over the salvation of souls, and of infallibility in all his decisions, had taken deeper hold on the minds of the clergy and the people. The writings of Thomas, especially from the time of the middle ages, had contributed much to this condition of things. But what above all tended of later years to bring it about, was a so-called General Council which had gathered around the pope shortly after Luther's visit to Rome, in 1510-11.

Tetzel, who hitherto had become notorious as a declaimer for the vulgar crowd, or as a boisterous charlatan, now brought out two series of theses in scholastic scientific form against Luther's propositions. He was aided in this affair by Conrad Wimpina, a theologian of the university of Frankfort on the Oder, to whom he was directed by Archbishop Albert. This university even went so far as to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Theology, and thus sanctioned his theses. Three hundred Dominican monks were assembled around him when he there held an academical disputation upon them. That which he then maintained on the subject of Indulgences, was the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas. But at the same time he made the question of the authority and power of the pope the salient point of his discussion; he and his patrons very well knew, that this question, which Luther in his theses had so distinctly brought up and yet had so slightly discussed, must be above all the most momentous. "Christians," he said, "must be taught that the judgment of the pope in matters pertaining to the faith and what is necessary to the salvation of men, is without question infallible, and that all

observances referring to matters of faith, which the papal chair has sanctioned, are part and parcel of Catholic truth, even if they are not found in the holy Scriptures." In distinct reference to his opponent, without however mentioning his name, he says, that Christians should be taught, that he who defends heretical error should be excommunicated, and that if in a fixed period he does not render satisfaction, he should be subjected, according to right and law, to the most terrible punishment. He further proclaimed, and this was always maintained against Luther and Protestantism, that if that authority of the church and the pope be not recognized, every one will believe just that which he finds in the Scriptures that is agreeable to him, and thus all Christians will be exposed to imminent danger of their souls.

At this time also, another Dominican and Thomist from the most influential classes of Rome and the popish circle, and who was a much stronger man than Tetzl, made his appearance upon the arena. Sylvester Mazolini de Prierio (Prierias) at the same time also issued a reply to Luther's theses. He also made the authority of the pope his salient point, and was the first to present it in its boldest aspect. "The pope is equivalent to the Church of Rome, the Roman church to the universal Christian church; he who disputes the rights of the Romish church to do anything she does, is a heretic." And then he treats the "obscure German," whose "mad dog" theses he disposes of very briefly as contemptuously as possible.

Another Dominican, Jacob von Hoogstraten, Prior in Cologne, who before this was, and continued to be, the most bitter opponent of Reuchlin in his efforts to promote Greek literature, demanded, in the preface to a book relating to Luther, that this new and dangerous heretic should be punished by fire.

A much more formidable, and for Luther, unexpected opponent, finally appeared in the person of John Eck, professor in the University of Ingolstadt and Canon at Eichstadt. He was a man of extensive acquirements in modern and more ancient scholastic theology; he was endowed with versatile talents of the highest order—an acute understanding, a discriminating judgment, which he well knew how to employ in discussion, a proud consciousness of his intellectual gifts, and a bold ambition to show them off on all occasions, whilst at the same time he did not allow himself to be too much troubled by any profound anxieties concerning the

most sacred things which were the subjects of controversy. He also was ambitious of maintaining friendly, and for himself honorable relations with other circles besides that of scholastic theology. He sought the companionship of learned Humanists, as well as with Luther and his colleague, Carlstadt, to whom he was introduced by the jurist Scheurl, of Nurnberg. Even after the publication of the theses, Luther wrote a friendly letter to Eck. But now he was surprised at the publication by Eck of a critical reply to the theses, under the title of "Obelisks." The tone of the book was as offensive, coarse and despicable, as the contents were superficial. The whole was comprehended in this: that Luther's teaching was nothing but Bohemian poison—Hussite heresy. When he was reproached for this violent rupture of the newly-formed friendly alliance with Luther, he replied that his theses were only written for the Bishop of Eichstadt, and not with a view to publication.

Bold as was the challenge to battle which the theses threw down, Luther himself was not yet prepared to enter upon it. The whole extent of the question upon Indulgences had not yet become apparent to him. In that subsequent declaration, when speaking of the rapid circulation of the theses, and of the reputation which he had gained by his "furious attack," he continues, "The reputation was not pleasant to me, for I myself did not know what Indulgence was, and the tune was pitched too high for my voice." In different places people glorified the man who spoke so boldly in the theses, whilst the mass of the Doctors and Bishops kept silence; but still he alone openly braved the storm which he had excited. He does not conceal the fact that often he was alarmed and surprised at the position he had assumed. But he had also already learned to stand fast upon the Scriptures, and the truth which God had here revealed to him. He was only established in the truth by the replies of his opponents, for he was astonished at the utter poverty of their proofs against his deductions from the plain Scriptures, and at the blind confidence with which they did nothing more than repeat the utterances of their scholastic authorities. Particularly poor appeared to him the pretentious publication of his exalted opponent, Prierias. Very composedly he assures his friends that what he teaches is the purest theology—that what he professes and his enemies oppose, he received from God himself. He knows also, that ac-

according to the word of the Apostle Paul, he must preach that which will be an offence to the holiest Jews, and foolishness to the wisest Greeks. He is not less prepared that Jesus Christ, his Lord, should say of him, as he once said of Paul, "I will make known to him how much he must suffer for my name's sake." His Roman Catholic opponents founded upon this declaration of Luther a charge of overweening self-conceit.

Whilst Luther, as all along, continued his zealous activity in the University and in the Wittenberg pulpit, and employed his pen industriously in writing small, simple, edifying books, he from this time occupied himself with controversial writings, in which he partly resisted attacks, partly still further illustrated and established the theses, and labored hard in setting in a clear light the way of true Christian knowledge and experience. He now also turned his attention to the German people as distinguished from learned theologians and scholastic opponents, and issued a "Sermon on Indulgences and Grace." The agitated state of mind in which he writes, is from this time forth evinced in that vehemence and compactness of language, which thereafter characterized his polemical writings. We must remember the tone which at that time prevailed not only among common monks but also in the controversies of theologians and learned men, and of which particularly the opponents of Luther, above all that exalted Romish theologian, set the unhappy example. In the whole polemical style of Luther, as we shall still further observe in later instances, we recognize a tremendous volcano-like natural power, which however was properly regulated in the performance of the momentous task which he had conscientiously undertaken; and side by side with the most violent exhibitions of this character, we still observe the tender expressions of a pure Christian fervor, and a dignity of language corresponding to the sacred themes on which he writes.

In the midst of these labors and conflicts, it became his duty in the spring of 1518 (towards the middle of April) to travel to Heidelberg, to a convent of his Order, where agreeably to its rules, the vicar of the Order was to be re-elected after an official service of three years. His enemies were so embittered against him, that it was feared he would be waylaid on his journey. He himself did not for a moment hesitate to proceed thither in discharge of his duty.

The Elector Frederick, who was at least grateful to him for helping to rid his territories of Tetzl, but who purposely kept far aloof from the conflicts then raging, showed on this occasion his undiminished veneration and anxiety for him in a letter to Staupitz. "As you," he writes, "have issued your order to Martin Luther to proceed to Heidelberg to attend the Chapter, he is willing to obey your summons, although we do not readily grant him leave of absence from the University; as you have heretofore informed us that in this man you will train for us a Doctor of distinction, it is our desire that you will do all in your power to promote his speedy return, and that it be not unnecessarily delayed." He also gave Luther warm recommendations to Bishop Lorenz, of Wurtzburg, through which city he was obliged to pass, and the Pfalzgrave Wolfgang, in Heidelberg. From both he received the kindest welcome and attention, although by many already he was decried as a rank heretic.

His relations to his brethren of the Order, and above all to his friend Staupitz here in Heidelberg, were entirely cordial. The latter was again re-elected vicar; the vicariate of the district was transferred from Luther to John Lange in Erfurt, his special confidential friend and fellow believer. The question concerning Indulgences was not at all brought up in the proceedings of the convent; a disputation however, which was an old custom of the convent, was presided over by Luther, and for the theses to be discussed he proposed some founded upon his doctrine of the sinfulness of man, human inability, and righteousness by God's grace in Christ, as well as against the Aristotelian scholastic philosophy and theology. With deep intensity some young men present, who subsequently became collaborators in his great work, such as John Brenz, Erhardt Schnepf, and Martin Bucer, directed their eyes and ears towards him. They were amazed at the extent of his Scriptural knowledge, and that he spoke not merely with acuteness and plainness but also with boldness and eloquence. His journey thus contributed to extend his reputation and influence.

When he had returned to Wittenberg on May 15, after an absence of five weeks, the first thing he did was to finish extensive Latin interpretations of the Theses, which he entitled "Resolutions." This is the largest and most important work which he issued during this period of the controversy. The most valuable

fruit which the progress of the controversy brought to him in general, and thus also contributed to his further prosecution of the work, and which can be specially observed in the book just mentioned, was the improvement in his own apprehension of the gospel and in his method of investigating it. New questions arose; the internal coherence of truth became more distinct; new results pressed themselves upon his attention; and yet it cost him trouble to overcome them.

In his theses, whilst he did not found the call of Jesus to repentance upon that church sacrament connected with auricular confession, and upon the penances and satisfactions imposed by the priest, yet he did not in general contest their divine appointment or biblical authority. But *now* he openly maintained that these ecclesiastical acts were not instituted by Christ, but only by the pope and the church.

The controversy on Indulgences, which the pope granted on the ground of these acts, now led to the doctrine of the so-called treasures of the church, upon which the pope drew, in dispensing his favors. Whilst Luther allowed to the pope the right of granting Indulgence in his own meaning of the term, he would not admit that the merits of Christ constituted that treasure which the pope claimed the right of controlling; he would admit nothing more than the papal power of the keys. It was now demonstrated to him, that in assuming this position he expressly contradicted the standing declaration of a pope in the ecclesiastical law books. Clement VI. distinctly declared that as a matter of course, the merits of Christ were dispensed in the Indulgence. Luther, who in his theses against the abuse of Indulgences had not yet brought up anything that did not coincide with the true meaning of the pope, persevered in that contradiction, for that utterance of the pope had not the character or authority of a fixed doctrine, and that a distinction must be observed between a doctrine established by the pope as an individual and one adopted by the church as settled by a council.

Luther came back to the marrow of his doctrine, which he had begun to preach already before the Indulgence controversy, with the question, how then does the Christian secure the forgiveness of endless guilt, reconciliation with God, righteousness before God, peace and salvation? He had professed and proclaimed before, that all this comes of faith—that is, a cordial reliance upon the

grace of God as revealed in the gospel, and upon the Saviour Jesus. What relation thereto was to be borne by the acts of penance prescribed by the church, as Absolution for instance, which was to be procured from the priest? Luther now admitted that God certainly allows the regular servant of the church, the priest, to declare forgiveness to the sinner who eagerly seeks it, but that simple faith in the divine declaration of promise, by virtue of which and in whose service the priest officiates, is to be exercised. At the same time he also expressed the sentiment, that this declaration of pardon may be made to a tempted Christian by another Christian brother, and thus secure to him full pardon, if the penitent believingly avails himself of it. To this end, he did not think that a recital of individual sins, for which forgiveness was desired, was necessary; it was enough, if a penitent and believing longing after divine grace and pardon was made evident to the priest or brother, from whom consolation was sought.

From this view it followed further, on the one hand, that priestly absolution and the sacrament of penance are of no service to the recipient, if he does not in his heart by faith turn to this God and Saviour, believingly apprehend the word declared to him, and by it be moved to a living faith: on the other side it followed, that a penitent and believing Christian adhering to that word, to whom the priest arbitrarily refuses the desired Absolution, may and really does become a partaker of the divine forgiveness. This view broke the powerful bond by which the reigning church fettered souls to its hierarchical instruments. Luther had humbled man before God to the lowest depths, by whose grace alone the sinner could be saved in humble receptive confidence. He teaches that in God and by this faith, the sinner will be free and certain of his salvation; "Christ," says he, "did not concede that the salvation of men should be in the power or choice of a man, without this saving faith."

But he would not yet on this account exempt himself from the external acts of penance imposed by the church and the pope. In this external jurisdiction, he continued to recognize the pope as an authority of divine appointment. He thought that here the Christian should patiently endure an abuse of authority and unjust treatment arising out of it.

The whole controversy finally resolved itself into the decision

of the momentous question, who should finally establish the controverted truth? where are the highest rules and sources of Christian truth to be sought? It was only by degrees, and plainly by self-exertion, that Luther's views and principles received clearness and consistency. Until this time, even within the pale of the Catholic church, the doctrine of human authority to which men were compelled to submit in questions of faith and practice, was by no means as firmly established as is generally presumed both by Protestants and Catholics. For that doctrine of the infallibility of the pope and of the unconditional authority resulting from it, strenuously as it was maintained by the admirers of St. Thomas and accepted by the popes, was however elevated to the rank of a dogma of the Roman Catholic church only in 1870. The other view, that even the pope could err and that a council alone could pronounce a final decision, had theologians or advocates until that time, whom however no pope ventured to treat as heretics. Upon this ground, even at that time already, the university of Paris, which was exceeded by no high school in Christendom in respectability and influence, appealed from the pope to a General Council. In Germany, the opinions between it and the absolute papistical theory were upon the whole divided. Finally, the opinion was with impunity maintained by writers of the 15th century, that neither the decision of a Council, nor that of a pope was absolutely infallible, but that against such a possible contingency, an appeal might be made to another better constituted Council. Only, no doubt was allowed to be expressed that the decisions of the former General Councils recognized by the popes, contained absolutely pure and divine truth, and that the Christian universal Church could never fall into that error, in respect to which the question still remained undecided who was the representative of this pure and divine truth, the pope, or councils, or both together?

Luther had already practically followed the teaching of divine revelation, as it was presented to him as the result of personal, persevering and conscientious study of the New Testament, especially of the Pauline epistles. But he was by no means willing to break the tie which bound him to the church in which he held a place. He even at this time blamed the Bohemian Brethren, the disciples of Huss, who arrogantly exalted themselves above all other Christians, and yet Eck charged him with cherish-

ing "Bohemain poison." He however openly and without fear, contradicted Thomas, who was in his view only one scholastic among others, but we do not yet observe a single doubt uttered by him that the universal Church in any one of the Councils had ever erred, and further, that a future council could come to an erroneous decision upon the points controverted at that time; he was willing also to leave the settlement of the heresies with which he was already charged, to the decision of the Church; and yet at the same time he nowhere plainly declares, that he would unconditionally submit to the decision of a council if one were to assemble. His conviction is unshaken, and this is superior to the decisions of others; his conscience—he says—will not allow him to swerve from it; he was not alone in the present controversy, but the truth is on his side, and on that of all others who partake of his doubts on the power of Indulgences.

Yet it would not have been easy for him, whilst he was opposing the doctrine of papal infallibility, to charge the popes with the utterance of real error. To the pope then upon the throne, Leo X., he desired, as far as was possible, to be submissive and obedient. It was not a mere sham, when in the Ninety-five theses, he strove to set forth his view of Indulgences as that of the pope himself. He at least, hoped and wished it with all his soul: later also, towards the end of his life, he relates, how he at that time cherished a strong confidence, that the pope would be his patron in the controversy with the shameless Indulgence traffickers. Even after this he used to regard Leo as a well-disposed man and a cultivated theologian, who, however, unfortunately had corrupt associations and lived in evil times. Yet he was firmly convinced, that notwithstanding all this, to Leo was entrusted of God the highest pastoral office in Christendom and all the power designated in the canonical law. The duty of humility and of obedience, which had even to excess, impressed itself upon the mind of this monk, must, not less than the fear of the perils and storms which threatened him and the Christian people, have aroused alarm when he thought that he was compelled even to testify and contend against the pope. He ventured to dedicate to his holiness the "Resolutions" mentioned above. The letter to Leo, in which he makes this dedication (May 30, 1518), plainly shows the peculiar, certainly schismatical, untenable position in which he at that time found himself. He is shocked—he says—

at the charges of heresy and apostasy, which were brought against him. He affirms, how he, who would prefer keeping silence, did not aim at establishing dogmas in his theses which were called forth by a public scandal, or as others might say, was ambitious in his youthful zeal of provoking a disputation, and now was anxious that his present declarations should go out under the patronage of the pope himself. But at the same time he asserts that his conscience is clear and satisfied and promptly affirms, I cannot retract. Yet, at the end of the letter he humbly casts himself at the feet of the pope with the words, "Let me live, slay me, accept me, reject me, as it seems good to you!" He is ready to recognize in the voice of the pope that of Jesus speaking through him. Even if he has deserved death, yet he will not abandon his course. But that declaration, that he could not recant, he allowed to stand.

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER IN AUGSBURG BEFORE CAJETAN. APPEAL TO A COUNCIL.

THE work upon which Luther ventured lay heavy on his soul; he was painfully solicitous, in his conflict for the truth, to continue in peace with his church, that he might still render her service. On the other hand, Pope Leo, in accordance with his character, at first looked upon the affair as a trifle hardly worthy of notice, and when it threatened to become dangerous, was only concerned about rendering this unruly German monk harmless, by employing the agencies of the papal authority.

Two expressions of his of the early period are recorded, "Brother Martin is a man of fine talents; this controversy is nothing but a quarrel of envious monks;" and "A drunken German wrote the theses; he will be of a different mind when he gets sober." A quarter of a year after the appearance of the theses, he issued an order to the Vicar-General of the Augustinian Order, "to soothe and appease that man;" he yet hoped that the flame could be easily extinguished. A court of heresy was then established in Rome on Luther's account. What its decision would be was already to be foreseen, from the fact that the only learned theologian in the court was Sylvester Prierias. On August 7th, Luther received a citation from this court to appear in Rome within sixty days. Enemy and friend could be certain that no return was ever to be expected.

At the same time the papal influence was exerted upon the Elector Frederick to induce him not to countenance Luther, and especially was the papal legate, Cardinal Thomas Dio von Gœta (usually called Cajetan), commissioned to employ all measures to rouse the opposition of the Elector and the Emperor Maximilian against Luther. At the same time the University of Wittenberg now entered the lists in behalf of its member, whose theology now prevailed there, and whose biblical lectures attracted and deeply interested crowds of hearers. Just at that time, also, Philip Melancthon, just 21 years of age, one of the greatest Greek scholars of the age, rose up as a teacher at his side, and

already was the covenant of friendship established in which these two Wittenberg masters labored together during their whole lives. The University interceded for Luther that he might at least be tried in Germany.

Luther expressed the same wish to his prince through Spalatin. But just at this time he publicly replied to that book of Prierias against his theses, and therein declared not merely that the Church was represented only in a Council, but proceeded farther to the proposition, that a Council decision might also be wrong, and that an act of the Church in general was not a conclusive proof of the truth of any article of faith. Furthermore, just at this time, when he was threatened with excommunication, he preached a sermon upon the ban, and published it, according to which a Christian even under the ban of the church, or exclusion from external church communion, can still remain in the true communion of Christ and of his fellow-believers, and then he can regard his excommunication as a meritorious privilege.

In the meantime the proud security of the pope at first entertained, was changed into passionate hatred. As early as August 23d, and thus long before the term of the sixty days for Luther had expired, he demanded of the Elector that this "child of iniquity" who prided himself upon the electoral protection, should be given up to the legate to be carried to Rome; and with this demand upon the Elector, there appeared on the same day and date, (August 25,) two other secret orders: one to the legate himself, and the other to the Provincial appointed for Saxony or the Superior of the Augustinian Convents (to be distinguished from the vicar of those congregations, which office was held by Staupitz, who had already become suspected). In these orders, both of them were directed to employ all means without delay to seize the heretic; his adherents were also to be captured, and every place which cherished him, was to be put under interdict. The conduct of the Pope appears so remarkable, that Protestant historians have not been willing to allow the authenticity of these mandates; but we shall soon see Cajetan himself referring to such a paper in his own possession.

Now, other general relations, interests and movements of the ecclesiastical and political life of the German nation began to exert an indirect and direct influence in the history of Luther and in the development of the Reformation conflict, according to

which the pope had above all to measure his steps and carefully consider his plans. While the deepest questions concerning the plan of salvation and the grounds and sources of Christian truth, to the discussion of which the indulgence controversy continued to contribute, had been first agitated by Luther, abuses, encroachments and violence on the part of the pope in regard to the possessions and outward organization of the church, with which the political and economical interests were always connected, had long since become the objects of bitter complaints and emphatic protests in Germany. These were raised by the princes and the states, who could not be silenced by any theory or dogma of the divine authority or infallibility of the pope, or demolished by a simple anathema. They were brought forward without being connected with the discussion of the divine right of papacy. But was it not natural that those members of the nation and church, who were aroused on these points, should turn their eyes to that man who had laid the axe at the root of the tree that produced all these fruits, and thus at least to keep open the possibility of making use of his labors for their purposes in some way or other? Luther on his part at first showed a remarkably limited acquaintance with this state of affairs and with the vehement complaints which had been made at the Diets; however, through the Indulgence question he had already stepped upon this ground. The concern which he evinced in this controversy for the welfare of souls and the interests of true Christian morality, made him an ally of those who were alarmed at the tremendous efflux of money to Rome; and his theses had also stated the fact that the Christian flock of Germany had been well fleeced. In other respects also the ecclesiastical politics of the papal see was in the closest connection with the political condition of Germany. In fact, it claimed in theory the right of superintending and determining the affairs of states also. In practice it at least endeavored to secure and maintain its influence wherever possible. In reference to Germany, its chief interest consisted in this, that the imperial government should not again acquire a power that could become dangerous to its dominion in general, and to its Italian possessions.

Although the popes in their public documents spoke of their immutable divine rights and privileges, and ordered their theologians and jurists to proclaim them in the most arrogant manner,

yet in their conduct in regard to the existing state of things they employed all the cunning of political diplomacy.

During the summer of 1518 a diet was in session at Augsburg at which a legate was present. The pope desired it to levy a heavy tax throughout the empire for the purpose of carrying on a war with the Turks, but it was said that he intended to employ it for an entirely different purpose. At the same time the Emperor Maximilian, who was now old and fast approaching his end, was endeavoring to secure the succession in the empire for his grandson, Charles, upon whose brow would then be united the powerful Spanish and Germano-Roman crowns. Further, it continued to be the chief object of Cajetan at this Diet to employ his influence with Maximilian and Frederick to Luther's detriment. The archbishop, Albert, who had also suffered so severely by Luther's attack on the Indulgences, was there at the command of the pope solemnly appointed a cardinal.

After his untoward experience and various contests with popes, it could have been expected of Maximilian that he would protect Luther at least against extreme measures, even if the thought could not be entertained that he himself, with the help of this man, would call into existence a grand reform of the national church. He also expressed the desire to Pfeffingen, the counselor of electoral Saxony, that his sovereign should guard the monk well, because his services would probably be needed at some future time. But he coincided with the pope in reference to the tax, and hoped to gain him over for his own political purposes. He also expressed himself in reference to the Indulgence controversy, and believed that dangers were threatening the church from this quarter; he offered to coöperate with the pope in protecting the church against the threatened calamity.

But the demand for a tax found an unfavorable reception in the Diet and the empire; a long-nourished opposition broke out against it. An anonymous pamphlet, from the pen of a Würzburg canon named Fisher, was then circulated, which declared in violent language that the covetous men in Rome only wanted to cheat the "drunken Germans," and that the real Turks were to be looked for in Italy. This publication also reached Wittenberg and came into Luther's hands, whom we now for the first time hear making remarks about the "Roman shrewdness," but blamed the pope only because he permitted himself to be misused

by his greedy Florentine relatives. The Diet made use of the proposal for a tax to formulate a whole list of old grievances, such as concerning the great sums which the papal chair, under the name of *Annates*, obtained from the German livings, and extorted under other pleas, concerning illegal encroachments in filling German ecclesiastical positions, concerning continual violations of concordats that had been agreed upon, and the like. The proposal was rejected; and after that a memorial of the bishop and clergy of Lüttich was yet publicly read, in which the lying, thieving, and avaricious transactions of the Roman courtiers were so sharply and bitterly scourged, that Luther, when he afterwards saw it in print, regarded it only as a feigned episcopal document.

There was thus sufficient reason why Cajetan should not increase the excitement by attempting to lay his hands on the Wittenberg champion against the Romish Indulgences. Besides, the Elector Frederick himself paid him a visit in connection with this matter. He, out of whose hands Cajetan would have been obliged to demand Luther, was one of the most powerful and personally most honored of the princes of the empire, and his influence was especially important in the coming election of an Emperor. Cajetan then promised him, although just at that time the above-mentioned breve had reached him from Rome, that he would take Luther's affair into consideration at Augsburg, would treat him with the good will of a father and send him back again.

Thus then Luther was to appear at Augsburg.

He and his friends were not without fear when he was to start for a place so far distant, where the Elector with all his good will would have command of no help in tangible form for his protection, and where he was to meet that particular papal legate, before whom he had been arraigned as a heretic, and who would be able to judge him only from his own theological standpoint. For Cajetan was as ardent a disciple of Thomas Aquinas as Prierias was, and had before this already become known as a defender of Indulgences and of papal absolutism. Luther afterwards describes his feelings thus: "My thoughts on the way were these: Now I must die, and often I said: O, what a disgrace I will be to my dear parents."

He traveled thither in a most modest manner. He walked on foot till he was near Augsburg, where he became ill and weak and for that reason took a conveyance. Another and younger

Wittenberg monk, his pupil Leonhard Baier, accompanied him. In Nürnberg his friend Link, who held an official position there, joined him for the rest of the way. From him he borrowed a cowl, as his was too mean to wear in Augsburg.

On October 7th he arrived at his destination.

The surroundings into which he now entered, and the character of the deliberations in which he was about to engage, were entirely strange to him. He there found men who received him kindly and politely, namely several Augsburg gentlemen favorable to his cause, especially the influential patrician, Dr. Conrad Peutinger, and two counsellors of the Elector. They instructed him to deport himself carefully, and with the observance of all the necessary forms in which he was not practiced.

Luther immediately sent the information of his arrival to the legate, who then desired to receive him at once. Luther's friends, however, kept him back until they had obtained a certificate for his safety from the Emperor, who was hunting in the neighborhood. In a superficial and, as Luther thought, in a regular Italian manner, a noble friend of Cajetan, Urbanus von Serralunga, wanted in the meanwhile to persuade him to make his appearance and obey the six letters "Revoca," i. e. recall. Laughingly he asked Luther whether he thought that his sovereign would on his account risk his domain? Luther answered: "That I do not want." The other continued: "Where will you stay then?" Luther: "Under the heavens."

To Melanchthon Luther wrote in these days as follows: "There are no news here except that the town is full of talk concerning me, and everybody wants to see the man who, like a second Erostratus, has kindled such a flame. You continue to be the man you have been, and instruct your pupils faithfully. I go and will be sacrificed for them and for you when it pleases God. For I will rather die, and, what is the hardest, forever forego the privilege of a pleasant return to you, than to retract what I am convinced is true."

On October 11, Luther received the certificate of safety, and on the very next day made his appearance before Cajetan. In all humility, as he had been instructed, he prostrated himself on his face before the representative of the pope, arose when commanded by him, at first only upon his knees, and finally stood up erect.

The cardinal addressed him kindly and with a politeness which



LUTHER BEFORE THE POPE'S LEGATE.

Luther was not accustomed to find in his opponents, but in the name and by the authority of the pope demanded from him, without any further consideration, that he should retract his errors and promise to abstain from everything that might disturb the church. As his principal errors, he pointed out the statements that the treasury of Indulgences possessed by the church was not the merits of Christ, and that faith was necessary in the communicant for the beneficial reception of the Lord's Supper. In reference to the second point, the religious views and interests from which Luther proceeded were entirely unintelligible to him and foreign to his scholastic standpoint. Those present laughed at Luther's explanation; but in this respect, too, the cardinal demanded an unconditional retraction. The first point was decisive for the acknowledgement of the papal authority. With great emphasis the cardinal legate directed Luther to the express declaration of Pope Clement, and stated that he could not believe that he would dare to contradict a papal bull, and thought that he had probably not yet read it. He himself insisted in the most emphatic terms that the papal authority was superior to Council, Church and Scriptures. The legate declared from the very start that he could not consent to enter upon a discussion of the sentences that were to be retracted, and without doubt it had not been his original intention to enter upon this as extensively as he really did afterwards. He only wanted to give paternal admonition and quiet the matter, as he said, with fatherly kindness. But in reality, says Luther, he employed only simple, pure and unbending force. Luther could do nothing but secure from him time for further deliberation.

On the part of Luther, who in this matter was advised by the two friends mentioned above and by Staupitz, who just then had arrived at Augsburg, an attempt was yet made to give his case a different turn, to produce other important opinions in his favor, and even to secure a chance for him to defend himself publicly. Accompanied by several legal friends, a notary public and Staupitz, he on the following day delivered, in the presence of the legate, a brief and properly formulated protestation, in which he stated that he could not retract without being convinced, and was constrained to regard everything that he had said as true and catholic, but that notwithstanding this he was a fallible human being and would submit to the legitimate decision of the church; and he herewith proposed to defend his statements

publicly, and was prepared to hear concerning them the opinions of the doctors of Basel, Freiburg, Leyden, and also Paris.

With a smile the legate refused to enter upon these proposals of Luther, but gave him permission to hand him in writing a further answer in reference to the chief points emphasized the day before.

Already on the following day, October 14, Luther had it ready. But just in this very document he with all clearness and firmness maintained these very principles in which his opponents saw the ruin of all ecclesiastical authority, and of the foundations of the Christian faith. For although he still endeavors to give even those words of Pope Clement a meaning in harmony with the Scriptures, he still declares on principle and with decision that the papal decrees could err and militate against the Holy Scriptures: even the apostle Peter had on one occasion (Gal. 2, 11 ff.) been compelled to submit to a rebuke on account of his departure from the truth; how much more was this the case with his successor; that every believing Christian stood above the pope, if he could produce better Scriptural warrant for his position than the latter. In conclusion he asked Cajetan to intercede for him with Leo X., so that the latter would through his disfavor not cast a soul that was searching for light into darkness, but repeated that he could do nothing against his conscience, that it became him to obey God more than man, and that he was fully convinced that the Holy Scriptures were on his side. Cajetan, to whom he delivered this writing in person, sought once more to convince him of his errors. They became engaged in a lively and exciting discussion. But Cajetan brought this to a sudden close by the word "Recant." If Luther would not recant or appear before the tribunal at Rome, he threatened him and all his adherents with excommunication, and the places to which he might resort with the interdict, saying that he already had the authority of the papal See for this step. Accordingly he dismissed him with the words, "Recant, or else never again come into my presence."

However, immediately afterwards, the legate conversed in a friendly manner with Staupitz, in order through him to induce Luther, for whom he professed to have a kind feeling, to change his sentiments. But Luther on that same day wrote to his friend Spalatin, who was with the Elector, and to his friends in Wittenberg, that he would not yield. He stated that the legate had

spoken to Staupitz in a mild way on his case, but that they both did not trust the Italian any farther than they could see him; that if he intended to employ force against him, he would publish the written answer he had given him; that although Cajetan might be a famous disciple of Thomas Aquinas, he nevertheless as a theologian and Christian lacked clearness and understanding, and was therefore as capable of passing a judgment in this matter as an ass was to play the harp. He already announces that an appeal in his interests had been drafted in the best possible form. Further, he announces to the Wittenbergers that he would probably go to another place and into exile; and in reality his friends thought of taking him to Paris, where the University still refused to accept the doctrine of the universal power of popery. Finally he says in this letter that he would not become a heretic by recanting that through which he had become a Christian; he would rather be burned, exiled and execrated.

The document of which he here speaks appeals "from the pope poorly informed to the pope better to be informed." On the 16th of October, he deposited it with all the necessary ceremonies with a notary public. While Staupitz and Link, cautious of their own safety and no longer expecting any good, now left Augsburg, Luther remained still longer. He even directed a letter to Cajetan on the 17th of October, in order to yield the utmost that seemed possible to him. Influenced, as he says, by the solicitations of his dear father Staupitz and his dear brother Link, he offered henceforth to let the whole Indulgence affair rest, if those, too, were stopped through whose doings he had become complicated in this affair; he also acknowledged that he had been too violent in the controversy. In reference to this concession he in later times said to his friends, that God had never permitted him to sink so deep as when he there yielded so much. But already on the following day he made known his appeal to the legate, and that he would waste no more time in Augsburg. To this he received no answer.

He yet waited until the 20th. He and his Augsburg friends began to entertain some fears that measures for apprehending him had already been taken. The latter therefore had a small gate in the city wall opened for his escape by night, and sent with him a horseman who was well acquainted with the roads. In this manner he hastily departed, as he afterwards describes it,

on a hard-riding old beast, without leggins and only in knee-breeches, without spurs, without any weapon of defence. On the first day he rode eight [German] miles, as far as the small city Manheim. When he arrived there in the evening and dismounted at the stable, he was not able to stand erect, but sank down upon the straw. In this manner he traveled on horseback to Wittenberg, where he arrived on the anniversary of the Ninety-five Theses, in good health and spirits. On the way he had become aware of the existence of the breve of the pope to Cajetan, but would not regard it as genuine. In the meanwhile his appeal had been handed at Augsburg to the cardinal, and had also been nailed to the door of the cathedral by his notary public.

In a letter from Augsburg, to the Elector, Cajetan made bitter complaints concerning him. In it the cardinal stated that while entertaining the best hopes for Luther's spiritual recovery he had been grossly deceived by him, and the Elector should now for his honor's and his conscience' sake send him to Rome, or at least expel him from his dominion, as he was not willing to be brought to a knowledge of his errors by the display of paternal kindness. Only after four weeks Frederick returned a calm answer, which showed how much Luther's protestation at Augsburg was in harmony with his own views. He stated that he had not expected that Luther would have been called upon to recant before the affair had been sufficiently examined and investigated; that there were many men of learning also at foreign universities, from whom he had as yet not been able to receive the opinion that Luther's teachings were unchristian, although indeed people whose personal and financial interests suffered under them had become his enemies; and that in accordance with his offer the opinion of several universities should be obtained, and he be permitted to hold a disputation at some secure place. Luther himself, to whom the Elector showed the cardinal's message, declared to his sovereign that he was willing to go into banishment, but would not be restrained from new publications and further aggressive measures.

He published an account of his negotiations with Cajetan, together with a justification of his course. And in these he incorporated views concerning the papacy which completely undermined its whole foundation. Already in the resolutions he had added to his theses; he had in passing and without attracting

special attention spoken of a time when popery had not yet possessed full sway over the entire church; and with this was denied what the Romish church maintained and had established as dogma, namely that it enjoyed this primacy by virtue of an institution of Christ himself, and by virtue of an immutable divine right. Now he expresses this with all distinctness, that the papal monarchy was divinely established only in the sense in which every political power that had arisen by historical development could be called such; that it did not belong to the essence of the church, as the kingdom of God did not come "with observation" (Luke xvii. 20.)

Without waiting until the answer should come from Rome itself, he now gave up every thought of an agreement which he had expected to reach with the pope. Already on November 28th, in a document drawn up in due form and earnest tone, he appealed from the pope to a general Christian Council that should be convoked. He thus anticipated the anathema which he daily expected. With Rome he had thereby now entirely broken, unless it would consent to resign its claims and achievements of a thousand years standing.

After the awe with which Luther contemplated popery had abated, after he had become acquainted with the representative of the pope in Augsburg, had withstood his demands and threats, and had escaped from his dangerous hands, he felt himself now animated with a daring spirit of freedom. His views expanded and the opposing forces were revealed to him in their whole inner rottenness and impiety. The war cry now roused him and impelled him to energetic action. The thought also that he would have to flee to some place, and the uncertainty whither to flee, no longer disturbed him. He thought of throwing himself into the battle all the more untrammelled if he were no longer bound by any obligations to his sovereign or the university. In announcing to his friend Link his new publications and his appeal, he requests him to decide whether he had expressed correct views in holding that the antichrist of whom Paul speaks in 2 Thess. ii. was reigning in the court of Rome, and announces to him: "Thy pen already produces by far greater things; I do not know whence I get these ideas; according to my opinion this affair has not yet really commenced, instead of these great lords in Rome already hoping for the conclusion." And in informing Spalatin,

through whom the Elector constantly exhorted him to moderation, of the new papal edicts and decrees which were said to have been issued against him, he declares: "The more they foam and threaten violence, the less I am frightened, and I will become all the bolder against the Roman serpents;—I hold myself in readiness for everything, and wait for God's guidance."

In reality he was every moment prepared for banishment or flight. In Wittenberg there was anxiety on account of rumors and intrigues which were said to have been conceived by the papists against his freedom and life. His friends insisted that he should resort to a place of safety. A flight to France was constantly spoken of, especially as he had just now followed the precedence of the Paris University in his appeal. It is indeed not clear how they would have succeeded in conveying him thither in safety, or would have found a safe place for him elsewhere. Some earnestly advised that the Elector himself should confine and guard him, and then write to the legate that he had imprisoned Luther in a safe place and held him in readiness for a future trial. Luther mentioned this to Spalatin, and added: "I submit the decision of this plan to your wisdom; I am in the hands of my friends and of my God." Frederick, himself similarly anxious, in the beginning of December arranged for a confidential consultation between him and Spalatin in the castle Lichtenberg. He, too, wished that Luther, as the latter afterwards recounts to Staupitz, would find a place somewhere else, but advised him not to be too hasty in going to France. His own advice and intention he had not as yet announced. Luther declared that when the anathema arrived he would naturally not be able to stay in Wittenberg any longer. Until that should take place, the prince also reserved his decision.

CHAPTER IV.

MILTITZ AND THE LEIPSIK DISPUTATION, WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES.

THE reports concerning the dangers that again threatened Luther from Rome had a good foundation. In Germany there was already a new agent sent from there, in the person of the papal chamberlain Karl von Miltitz.

The object of his mission was to remove the greatest obstacle in the way of a citation of the Wittenberg heretic to Rome or his imprisonment, namely the protection granted him by his sovereign. Miltitz was of a noble Saxon family, himself born a Saxon subject and in friendly relation with the electoral court. He appeared with a token of the highest papal grace for the Elector Frederick. The latter had before already expressed the wish of receiving the golden rose, with which the pope even to this day deigns to honor persons of princely blood who have been of special service to the church or to the papal chair. It is customary to sanctify this rose during the season of Lent, on the Sunday Lätare, in a most solemn manner, and not less solemnly have it presented through a legate. Miltitz was appointed to convey this rose to Frederick. For this purpose he was already on the 24th of October, 1518, furnished with a long list of papal decrees.

Prominent among these is the double breve of Leo X. to Frederick. The latter, his dear son, should, as Leo herein says, receive the most holy rose that had been touched with sacred ointment, sprinkled with fragrant musk, and consecrated with the apostolic blessing, the most worthy gift and expression of a deep mystery, as a remembrance and testimony of the fatherly love and of the especial good pleasure of the pope, through a delegate chosen for the special purpose by the pope himself and heartily recommended by him, etc., etc. Such magnificent presents, which the church gave him through the hand of her priest, should indicate the greatest joy on account of the salvation of the human race through the precious blood of Jesus Christ, and the precious body of our Saviour, that refreshes and sustains us, could fitly be compared with the rose etc. The pompous and inflated expres-

sion of the real design of this gift is characteristic of popery, namely the wish that the divine fragrance of this flower might fill the innermost heart of Frederick, the beloved son, so that he, being filled with it, might with his pious heart receive that which Karl (Miltitz) would explain to him, and of which the other papal document treated, and that he might cherish it in his noble breast, and, in accordance with the confidence reposed in him, that he might all the more zealously gratify the pope's holy and pious wishes. The other breve then, after it had first spoken of a new conscription against the Turks, stated concerning Luther that the son of destruction, who preached notorious heresies especially in Frederick's domains, had proceeded from Satan; and because the rebellious sheep should not be permitted to infect the folds of heaven, and because such an one would also contaminate the prince's honor and conscience, Miltitz had been empowered with measures against him and his adherents, and Frederick was admonished in the Lord to assist him in this with his authority and good will.

Papal messages in the very same tenor Miltitz received for Spalatin, as the latter was Frederick's confidential secretary, and for the Electoral counsellor Degenhard Pfeffinger. Especially was therein Spalatin, as the most confidential adviser of Frederick in religious matters, reminded how terrible the heretical audacity of that "one son of Satan," and how dangerous this was for the noble name of the Elector. Like the Elector, the military commander and the magistrates of Wittenberg were called upon in a breve to render assistance to Miltitz in carrying out free and untrammelled the papal decrees against the Satanically-inspired and heretical Luther. Decrees of this character Miltitz is said to have carried with him for a number of German cities, so that these, when he had taken Luther captive, would grant him free passage with his prisoner to Rome. It is said that he was armed with more than seventy such breves.

In reference to the rose, Miltitz had strict orders to make the real presentation to Frederick only in harmony with Cajetan's advice and consent. It was for the present deposited in Germany, in the mercantile house of the Fuggers in Augsburg. Evidently the intention was not to let the valuable gift go out of his hands before there was reason to hope that it would really subserve its purpose.

Toward the middle of December there was further published in Germany by Cajetan a papal bull issued on the 9th of November, which definitely fixed the doctrine of indulgence in accordance with the theory which Luther combatted, and without mentioning him, warned with threats of anathemas against certain errors in this respect that had recently made their appearance.

So entirely did the pope then seem to have abandoned every conciliatory and compromising thought in reference to Luther. And yet, as is evident from the events that followed, there must have been room left for this legate Miltitz in his secret instructions, according to circumstances, to employ other means.

After Miltitz had crossed the Alps he wanted first to speak to Cajetan in South Germany, but as the latter was absent on business with the Emperor in Austria, he visited his old friend Pfefinger on the family estates in Bavaria. Continuing his journey in the latter's company, he arrived on the 25th of December at Jena, and from there sent the announcement of his coming to Spalatin, who was in Altenburg. On the road he had abundant opportunity to learn of the sympathy of the learned and of the common people for the man against whom he had been sent, and to discover an antipathy to Rome of which those in Rome knew nothing, or pretended to know nothing. He was a young and versatile gentleman of ease, who knew how to associate and converse with men of all descriptions, and who himself even would at times express himself against the condition and acts of Rome, which sentiments were then freely seconded by others. Tetzl also, whom he had wished to invite to visit him, writes complainingly that the German people had been aroused by Luther to such a hatred against him, that in traveling his life was in constant danger. Then Miltitz rashly decided, with a want of consideration natural to him, to risk the attempt of making Luther harmless in another way. After having paid his respects to the Elector at Altenburg, he consented to enter upon friendly negotiations with Luther at this place.

This remarkable meeting took place during the first week of the new year, in Altenburg, in the house of Spalatin.

Miltitz made a parade of the greatest candor and friendliness possible, and even exhibited deep concern. He acknowledged to Luther that for a hundred years no affair had caused so much trouble in Rome as the present; cheerfully they would there give

ten thousand ducats in order to prevent its further development. He himself narrates that on the whole way he had tested the sentiment of the people, and had found that where one stood on the pope's side there were always three for Luther against the pope, and that if he had 25,000 men at his command, he would not risk the attempt of taking Luther through Germany to Rome. In addition to this he remarks concerning the person of the reformer: "O Martinus, I thought you were an old theologian who held disputations with himself behind the stove; but now I see that you are yet young, fresh and active." In addressing words of admonition and reproof to Luther concerning the injury inflicted on the Roman church, he accompanied them with tears. In this manner he hoped to gain his confidence and thus make him pliable for his plans.

Luther showed over against this how he, too, could be shrewd. As he himself relates, he did not let his opponent see that he regarded these tears as feigned. In the matter itself he was ready, as he had been before under the threats of the papal nuncio, so now under the appeals and promises of the other, to yield all he could with a good conscience, but no more, and then confidently permit the affair to take its own course.

Although Miltitz refrained from demanding a recantation, Luther consented to send a letter to the pope in which he would confess that he had been too severe, and to issue a declaration to the Christians of Germany, in which he would inculcate and recommend that proper respect be paid to the Romish church. Luther's case, together with the accusations that had been raised against him, were to be brought before the tribunal of a German bishop; but in case he should not be able to submit to this decision he reserved to himself the right of again standing by his appeal. He himself would refrain from further controversy, but the opponents also should be commanded to keep silent.

After having come to this agreement, they supped together in good spirits. In parting Luther received a kiss from Miltitz.

In the account of this conference which Luther sent to the Elector, he expresses the hope that the difficulty "might bleed itself to death" in silence on both sides, but also the fear that if the contest was continued "the thing would break out all the worse, and the offence become deep and earnest."

He then really wrote the promised declaration for the people.

Therein he in no wise sacrificed his own standpoint, so that even if he would now let the matter rest, it could not be made to appear that he had retracted anything. He consented to acknowledge Indulgences, but only as a substitute for the satisfaction of Christ, and with the declaration that doing good was much better than buying Indulgences. He insisted that in Christian love and harmony the allegiance with the Romish church, in which Peter and Paul and hundreds of martyrs had shed their blood, even notwithstanding the sin and depravity that clung to it, should be adhered to, and its authority should be obeyed, but stated that this was the case only in outward things. Expressions that went beyond what was here acknowledged, he thought ought to be regarded as something that should under no circumstances be brought before the people or the common laity. This, he said, should be left to the theological schools, and the learned men should fight this out among themselves. His opponents, by accepting this standpoint, would have been compelled to sacrifice their fundamental principles, for they regarded Indulgences and the authority of the church as articles of faith necessary to salvation.

To the pope, Luther wrote under date of March 3, 1519. This letter also began with expressions of the deepest personal humility, but was already by its calm and firm spirit distinguished from the letter of the previous year to Leo. With equal firmness and decision over against the idea that Luther should retract his statements, it pointed now especially to this, that these through the agitation of the opponents had spread beyond all expectation and had found their way into the hearts, and that among the Germans, knowledge and independent judgment were very prevalent; accordingly, if he should permit himself to be forced to a recantation, he would then all the more give an occasion for accusing and reviling the Romish church; for her own honor's sake, this he would be compelled to refuse. Besides, in his attack on the Indulgences it had only been his endeavor to save the mother church from being contaminated by foreign avarice, and that the people should not be led astray, and should not learn to value the Indulgences higher than love.

In the meanwhile Maximilian had died on the 12th of January. He was the last popular emperor which it was Germany's good fortune to have, in his peculiarities a true son of

his nation, richly endowed in body and soul, a sovereign of great courage and warm temperament, capable of associating with high and low, and of gaining respect and affection. Luther also in later times speaks in terms of the highest esteem of him, of his kindness and affability to all, of his endeavor to gather together faithful and suitable assistants from all classes, of his noble sentiments, of his skill in grave and gay conversation; further, of the troubles he had in his government and with the princes of the realm, of the ridicule he suffered from the Italians, also of his good humor with which he would speak of himself and his imperial government. Luther relates that he on one occasion said: "God has furnished the political and spiritual government with good leaders, the former with a chamois-hunter, the latter with a drunken priest (Pope Julius);" he called himself a king of kings, because his German princes in a right kingly style would always do what they pleased. With the high ideas and plans which he as a ruler entertained, he stood before the people as a worthy representative of imperial power, even if his attention in reality always were directed more to his own house and its power than to the common interests of the empire. The complaints about the church, which we heard at the Diet of the year 1518, he had already felt with much concern, even if he did consider it the part of wisdom on that occasion to take no part in their discussion. He had the Humanist Wimpheling to draw up an opinion for him on these, and the reforms that should be undertaken. He even had, while engaged in a quarrel with Pope Julius, thrown his influence in favor of a general Council for reformatory purposes. As useless as such a question may be in historical investigations, the question will nevertheless force attention, what a turn the work of Luther and the fate of the German nation and church would have experienced if Maximilian would have united his plans as emperor with the interests for which Luther combated, and in this manner would have elevated himself to the leadership of a great national movement? Now he had departed without having understood the importance of the monk more clearly than is conveyed by his expression concerning him at Augsburg, mentioned above.

His death still enhanced the consideration which the papists were forced to show to the Elector Frederick. For until the election of a new emperor, the latter was regent of the empire for

North Germany, and for an election much depended especially upon his influence. On the 28th of June, the grandson of Maximilian, king Charles of Spain, then nineteen years of age, was elected. He was a stranger to the German land and life, a deficiency from which the German nation and its reformer in later times always suffered. For the pope, however, the considerations still remained, for over against the new sovereign he was compelled at least to exhibit the greatest precaution, as the latter knew that the pope had in all possible ways sought to prevent his election. On the other hand, the emperor was under obligations to the elector, to whom more than to others he owed his election, but he could for the present time not personally make his appearance in Germany as regent.

Miltitz had, in the meanwhile, been following up his plan, without, however, enabling us to see exactly what really his intentions were. As a judge for Luther's case he selected the Archbishop of Trier, whom he had previously consulted, and who consented to serve. In the beginning of May he arrived at Coblenz, the city where the Archbishop of Treves resided, together with the legate Cajetan, and now invited Luther to make his appearance before the Archbishop at that place.

But Miltitz could as yet give no information whatever as to how his negotiations with Luther had been received in Rome. Would Luther leave his Wittenberg, where he was secure, without the consent of his faithful sovereign, who in this connection entertained only mistrust, and risk amid all this uncertainty the long journey, to meet the two papal ambassadors? He would, as he writes to Miltitz, have to be considered a fool if he did this and besides, he did not know where to get the money for the journey. What negotiations touching this case were at that time carried on between Rome and Miltitz, were for Luther and are for us yet a mystery.

While this attempt at a compromise, if it can be really called such, still remained undecided, a momentous struggle had been in preparation, that produced a violent outburst of the storm apparently allayed.

Luther's colleague, Carlstadt, who at first had become enraged when Luther's theses appeared, but had then stepped into the tracks of the new Wittenberg theology, and had worked onward with it, had on account of Eck's attack on Luther, been engaged

in a literary passage of arms with the former, ever since the spring of 1518. At his instigation, Luther, who at Augsburg, in October, met among others Eck also, negotiated with the latter concerning a public disputation, in which the two should carry on the contest to an end. He hoped, as he said to Eck and to some friends, that it would be a worthy contest for the truth, and that it might become clear that theologians could not only quarrel, but knew also how to come to a satisfactory understanding. It seems that at least between him and Eck a peaceable relation had been reëstablished. The University of Leipsic was decided upon as the place for the disputation. Duke George of Saxony, in whose dominion Leipsic lay, gave his consent, and refused to be influenced by the opposition of the Leipsic theological faculty, who regarded this as dangerous.

But when toward the end of the year the theses which Eck intended to defend appeared, Luther was astonished to read that they, to a great extent, referred to points which he rather, and not Carlstadt, had maintained; besides, Eck had expressly called Carlstadt the "champion" of Luther. Only one of the theses referred particularly to the doctrine defended by Carlstadt, namely, concerning the slavery of the will in sinful man. To these points belonged especially the claim that the Romish church had not possessed her supremacy over all Christendom in the first centuries. Eck had drawn these out of the recent publications of Luther mentioned above: from Carlstadt he could have heard or seen nothing of this character.

Luther was incensed. In an open letter addressed to Carlstadt he remarked, that the frogs and flies with which Eck had threatened him were rather directed against himself, and announced to Eck, that he would not accuse him of having in a malicious, impolite, and untheological manner, charged Carlstadt with things of which he was not guilty; would not complain that through his servile subserviency to the pope he had again made himself prominent; he would only show that his secret stabs were well understood, and admonish him in a friendly spirit, for the sake of his own good name, to be a little more considerate in such trickery; that Eck should now gird his loins with the sword, and add to the triumphs which he boasted to have achieved in other places, one also from Saxony, in order at last to be able to rest on his laurels; that he should give birth to that opposition against him with

which he was pregnant, throw up what was overcrowding his stomach, and finally make an end of his boasting threats.

Luther had, as is known, been all along entertaining the wish to be permitted to defend in a public disputation the truth on account of which he had been stamped as a heretic, and had expressed this desire in vain to the legate in Augsburg. Now he demanded to be permitted to become one of the disputants in Leipsic. And he was determined to fight there publicly and decidedly, especially against the papal primate.

Just on this point his friends entertained the greatest fears on his account. He, however, with all diligence got his weapons ready by thoroughly studying works on ecclesiastical law and the history of this subject, to which before this time he had given no attention. What he maintained he found here fully corroborated; he even found that the tyrannical claims of papacy, although more than a thousand years old, had obtained recognition only through the papal law-books of the last four centuries, and could depend for their defence only upon these. And, on the other hand, he discovered that the history of the previous centuries, the Nicene Synod (325), and the Holy Scriptures, testified against this primate. He accordingly gave expression to this in a thesis, and also published a further exposition of it.

Our attention has already been called to the great significance of these historical facts for the faith and the whole conception of salvation through Christ and of the true congregation or church Christ. According to these, the existence of a papacy no longer belonged to the essence of this church. Besides, the course of history, according to which God permitted the Christians of the west to become subjects of the temporal power of the pope, just as nations become subject to different political sovereignties, had in no wise brought the entire Christendom under this sway, or was destined to do so. The millions of Oriental Christians, who did not obey this authority, and were for that reason condemned by the pope as schismatics, are, as Luther now states with especial emphasis, notwithstanding this, a part of Christendom, of the church and of the body of Christ. Communion of salvation is not to be found in the communion of the Romish church alone. For Christendom as a body, and for the universal church, there is no other head save Christ. At the same time Luther now discovered, and also openly stated it, that the bishops did not receive their

supremacy over the different congregations and their pastors until after the times of the apostles: with this the episcopate also ceased to be an essential, necessary element in the church. What is then essential to the existence of the church, and what are her limits? Luther then already answered in accordance with the principle of evangelical Protestantism, that the church does not exist only there where there is connection with Rome, but is in each and every place where the word of God is preached and believed, where Christian faith, hope and love reside, where there is a Christianity inwardly united with Christ as with her bridegroom. This universal church, says Luther, is comprehended in the apostolic creed, when it says: "I believe in a holy, catholic church, the communion of saints."

The outward power which the papal system exercised in ecclesiastical government and in prescribing outward tasks and punishments, appeared to Luther as a matter religiously indifferent, and of no importance in securing salvation. It was, however, different in regard to the claim of divine right raised by the papacy in this connection, and in regard to the extension of its power and arbitrary dominion over the souls and the consciences of the believers, over the communion of the believers, or even over the fate of departed souls. Here Luther saw an assumption of the rights which God had reserved for himself, and a perversion of the true order of salvation as established by Christ and revealed in the Scriptures. Here he saw a human ruler and tyrant who put himself into God's and Christ's place. He shuddered, as he writes to friends, when in reading the papal decrees he looked deeper into the doings of the popes with their commands and precepts, into this fabrication of human laws, into this new crucifixion of Christ, into this abuse and mocking of his people. As he had previously already expressed his opinion that under the present papal system the anti-Christ was ruling, thus he now, (in a letter of the 13th of March, 1519,) whispers into Spalatin's ear: "I do not know whether the pope is the anti-Christ himself, or only his apostle." To such an extent the papal institution itself in its fundamental principles seemed anti-Christian to him. Concerning those law books he says in another letter: "If the Roman see already suffered so much by the death of its indulgences, what will it do when according to God's will its decrees will be compelled to breathe their last? Not as though I, relying on my

own ability, boast of the victory, but I rely upon the divine mercy that is angry with these human precepts."

Luther earnestly entreated Duke George to permit him to take part in the disputation. His Elector, who undoubtedly desired a public, free and scientific discussion of the questions at issue, gave his consent to this step. His agreement with Miltitz could not be in Luther's way, since the silence of his opponents, which had been one of the conditions, had not been maintained, and had not even been recommended to them either by Miltitz or any other authority of the church. But in connection with his petition to George he was compelled to submit to a reference to Eck, with whom he would have to come to an understanding first; but Eck failed to answer him. Finally Duke George sent a letter of safety for Carlstadt and those he might bring with him; under this protection Luther also accompanied him. On George's word as a man and prince, he could place the greatest reliance.

The Bishop of Merseburg, who was chancellor of the University of Leipzig and the spiritual head of the faculty, protested from the beginning against the disputation. He regarded it as entirely out of place for the one reason, that Eck's theses again revived the indulgence controversy, which, according to his opinion, had been settled and put aside forever by the papal bull. He appealed to the papal decrees in order to prevent the disputation. But when in spite of this protestation it took place under ducal sanction, it assumes more dignity and importance on that account.

Duke George himself took a lively interest in the matter. He was a vigorous, straightforward and blunt character. He clung firmly and tenaciously to the traditions of the church in which he had been reared, and it was a difficult matter for him to adopt broader views. But he had an honest concern for the truth. He desired that his theologians also should take an active part in its defence. When he heard of the fears of the Leipsic theologians in reference to the disputation, he expressed the thought, that they were probably afraid of being disturbed in their idleness and intemperance, and that when they heard a shot, that they were already hit. As an exceptionally large crowd of hearers could be expected for the disputation, he ordered the great hall in his castle, called the Pleissenburg, to be properly arranged and decorated. He appointed two of his counsellors to supervise the

discussion. He expressed his determination of being present himself. How much depended on the impression which it, and especially Luther's part in it, would make upon him!

On the 24th of June, the Wittenbergers, with Carlstadt at their head, entered Leipsic. An eye-witness later describes the entrance as follows: "They entered by the Grimma gate, and their students, two hundred in number, marched at the side of the carriages with spears and halberds, and in this manner accompanied the distinguished visitors, Doctor Carlstadt's carriage being first, then Luther and Philip [Melanchthon,] in a small basket vehicle, none having a covered conveyance; and when they had thus entered by the Grimma gate and come to the cemetery gate of the St. Paul's church, Dr. Carlstadt's carriage broke down, and the Doctor fell into the mud. But Dr. Martinus and his faithful companion Philip passed on." While they were entering in this manner, an episcopal decree prohibiting the disputation under threats of excommunication was nailed to the church doors, but no attention was paid to it. The magistrates even had the man who nailed up this document arrested, because it had been done without official permission.

Before the discussion opened, certain preliminaries, according to which it was to be conducted, were agreed upon. It was decided that the deliberations should be recorded by notaries. Eck had opposed this, because he feared that he would be hindered in his free oral expression, and did not wish that every word that he uttered in the debate should be so accurately recorded. The records, however, were to be submitted to certain judges, who were yet to be elected to decide upon the disputation, and then, if approved by these, they should be published. In vain Luther and Carlstadt, who would not promise to submit to such a court, opposed this, while the Duke wanted above all things to bring this controversy to a conclusion.

Early on the morning of June 27th, the disputation was opened with all the worldly and spiritual pomp that could precede a highly important academic act; with a speech of welcome in the University hall by the Leipsic Professor Simon Pistoris, with a mass in the St. Thomas church, whither the whole assembly marched with solemn step, with a still grander parade to the Pleissenburg, where a division of armed citizens was stationed as guards, with a long address which the famous Leipsic teacher

Peter Schade Mosellanus, a master of the Latin language and eloquence, delivered in the hall in which the disputation was to be held. His theme was the proper manner of conducting a public discussion, and with the thrice repeated musical rendition of the Latin hymn, "Come, Holy Spirit," while the assembly were on their knees. At two o'clock the disputation proper between Eck and Carlstadt began. They stood on two platforms facing each other.

A large number of theologians, and also educated laymen, had come to witness the spectacle. From Wittenberg Barnim, the Duke of Pommerania, and at that time rector of the University, had come over. Prince George of Anhalt, then still a very young student in Leipsic, the friend of Luther in later days, was present. Duke George of Saxony frequently attended the meetings, and listened with marked attention. It is also said that his court fool frequently accompanied him, and on one occasion to the amusement of the assembly he had a comical scene with Eck, against whom he had been aroused by some lovers of fun. As a representative of Frederick the Wise, one of his counsellors, Hans von Planitz, was present.

Eck and Carlstadt disputed with each other for four days, between the 27th of June and the 3d of July, on the question of the free will of man and its relation to the acts of grace on the part of God. It was a tedious logomachy about a few scriptural passages and statements of the old church fathers, without the animating and life-inspiring excitement of the moral and religious feelings which in Luther's discussion of such questions forced attention and sympathy. In respect to memory, as well as to command of language, Eck proved to be his opponent's superior. When Carlstadt asked for books to refer to, Eck succeeded in having this refused him, and thereby also gained the advantage, that no one could call into question his citations. Thus an exuberant feeling of victory already filled his soul when he prepared to take up the contest with Luther.

The latter had during that time, at the request of Duke Barnim, preached in the Pleissenburg, on St. Peter's and St. Paul's day, June 29th, and in this sermon, on the basis of the gospel of the day, in a simple, practical and edifying manner, he discussed the chief point in Carlstadt's debate, and also the one in the discussion in which he was to take part, namely, the significance of the power

of the keys which had been given to Peter. In opposition to him, Eck then delivered four sermons from different pulpits in the city, none of which Luther would have been permitted to enter, and afterwards himself gives the following account: "I have thoroughly excited the people, so that they are entirely disgusted with the Lutheran errors." The members of the Leipsic University, during the whole period of the discussion, kept themselves aloof in a very unfriendly manner from the Wittenbergers, while they continually glorified the name of Eck. When Luther on one occasion entered a church in which some monks were conducting services, these hastily removed the pyx in which the sacred wafers were kept, lest it be defiled by his presence; and yet he was afterwards accused of neglecting attendance at the house of worship in Leipsic. In the inns where the Wittenberg students had taken up their abode, violent quarrels arose between them and those of Leipsic, so that the inn-keepers were compelled to station soldiers with halberds at the tables.

Duke George invited the heretic Luther, together with Eck and Carlstadt, to dine with him, and beside this, even to a private audience—so liberal and so anxious was he personally to become acquainted with Luther and his cause. Luther at that time called him a good and pious prince, who understood how to speak as becoming a prince. But at the same time George reminded him in this audience especially of this, that the Bohemians expected much from him, and this same George, on his mother's side a grandson of Podiebrad, king of Bohemia, was more than ordinarily anxious that the contamination of the hated Bohemian heresy should be avoided. In referring to such expressions of the Duke, Luther at that time says of himself, that he knew well to distinguish between the pipe and those that blow it, and only regretted that the prince was so easily influenced by the passions of others. It must have been an uncomfortable and dismal atmosphere in which he lived in Leipsic.

Finally on Monday, July 4th, he and Eck entered the arena. Only on the morning of this day did he sign the conditions which in spite of his protestation had been decided upon, but declared that even in the face of the possible decision of the judges to be appointed, he would stand by his appeal to a council, and would not accept the papal court as a judge. The record in this matter reads: "But Dr. Martinus has reserved his right to stand by

the appeal he had before already made, and would not resign this right, and also that the documents of this disputation, for reasons satisfactory to himself, should not be sent to the papal court for judgment."

Luther's appearance at this disputation gave the first occasion to a description of his personal features and physical structure, which we have received from the hand of a contemporary. Mosellanus, mentioned above, gives this account in a letter: "He is of medium size, in body reduced by cares and study, so that almost every bone in his body could be counted. He is in his best years. His voice is distinct and clear. His learning and knowledge of the Scriptures are extraordinary, so that he has almost everything at his command. He has a sufficient knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to pass a judgment on the explanation of the Scriptures. Subject matter and words for discussion are abundantly at his command, and with this he is in life and manners cultured and friendly, has nothing of stoical harshness or pride in him; he knows how to accommodate himself to the different persons and times. In company he is cheerful and witty. He is at all times fresh, joyous and reliable, and has a pleasant countenance, notwithstanding his enemies are constantly threatening him, so that one is constrained to believe that this man undertakes no difficult task without the assistance of the gods. He is reproached by many for being more immoderate and bitter in his polemics than is becoming a theologian and one who aims at establishing something new in divine matters." His ability in debate was afterwards also acknowledged by Eck himself, who in reference to their disputation, said: "Aristotle remarks that when two who are well versed in the art are disputing with each other, it is a discussion worth hearing."

Mosellanus describes Eck as a man of large, robust frame, with a voice that was suited to the theatre or to the office of a herald—it was more rough than distinct, and was in nowise agreeable; with a mouth, eyes and whole appearance of a butcher or soldier, but with an extraordinary memory. In memory and fluency of speech he was also Luther's superior; but in reference to thorough and extensive learning the impartial hearers, as the above mentioned Pistoris, acknowledged Luther's superiority. It was said that Eck acquired his extravagance in speech, yelling and gesticulation with the arms and with the whole body, from Italian

models. Melancthon, too, in a letter written after the disputation, acknowledges: "The majority on our side could not help but be astonished at the varied and extraordinary mental endowments of Eck." Later he calls him: "Eckeckeck, the jackdaw voice." Eck certainly evinced rare strength and perseverance in these Leipsic days. And above all, he shrewdly knew how to pursue the real object which he had in view in reference to Luther.

The two immediately began the discussion of that point which Eck had selected as the most important, and concerning which Luther had taken the boldest position, namely, the question of papal power. There now ensued a lengthy discussion of passages from the Scriptures, concerning the old fathers, who had known nothing of this papal supremacy, the occidental church of the Middle Ages, in which this supremacy had indeed been acknowledged earlier than Luther would concede, and the Christians of the East not subject to Rome, to whom Luther pointed, and whose salvation Eck then boldly denied. The latter on the second day of the disputation, according to a shrewdly laid plan, suddenly left the ecclesiastical authorities which he had adduced for the divine right of the papal primacy, and took up the statements of the English heretic Wycliffe and of the Bohemian Huss, who had denied this right and therefore had been justly condemned. He said that he had to bring these in here, because, according to his modest and weak opinion, Luther's theses favored the errors of the Bohemians strongly, and these, as it was said, wished these theses success. Luther now also, as he had steadily done before, stated over against this that he did not favor the separation of the Bohemians from the Catholic church, because the highest divine right was that of love and of the Spirit, and protested against the disgrace that Eck sought to heap upon him; but he declared that the Bohemians had not yet been refuted on that point. And with all decision and quiet deliberation he continued after the recess, that had been taken in the discussion during the hour of noon, to maintain that among Huss' articles there were many truly Christian and evangelical in spirit, such as the statements that there was but one universal church (to which the Greek church also had belonged and still belonged), and that the acceptance of the supremacy of the Romish church is not necessary to salvation. He added that no Christian could be compelled to adopt

an article of faith that was not found in the Scriptures, and that the judgment of an individual Christian must have more weight than that of the pope or of a council, if the former has a better basis.

The moment in which Luther spoke of the statements of Huss, who had been condemned by a council, and whose name was execrated in Germany, was the most impressive and important in the whole disputation. A witness who was sitting immediately below the Dukes George and Barnim, relates that Duke George then spoke with a voice that could be heard throughout the whole auditorium: "Plague take it!" and then shook his head and pressed his two arms against his sides. In a like manner the other hearers, according to their different standpoints, must necessarily have felt excited. Luther had indeed before this already stated in his writings that a council *could* err. But now he declared his acceptance of statements which a regular council unanimously acknowledged by the whole church of the west, namely that of Constance, had condemned, and thus charged this council with error, in one of its most important decisions. Besides, in effecting this decision of this council, just such men had taken a prominent part who, while acknowledging the primacy of the pope, had still defended the rights of the councils over against papal despotism and of the universal church and nations and states represented by them. The one Occidental church, as we have previously remarked, had in her midst adherents of the different views in regard to what rights belonged to the papacy as founded by Christ, and what rights belonged to the councils. Now Luther, in his opposition to the pretended divine institution and authority of the papacy, seemed to have reached a stage where he had broken with *every* existing authority in the church, and with every popish school of ideas she cherished.

Luther, however, does not at that moment seem to have perceived this full import of his words, with which he acknowledged his sympathy with the "Christian" articles of Huss, nor to have sufficiently thought of the direct opposition in which he thereby placed himself to the Council of Constance. For when Eck declared it as "terrible" that the "venerable father" had no scruples in contradicting the holy and worthy council that had been assembled with the consent of all Christendom, he interrupted him with the words: "It is not true that I spoke in opposition to

the Council at Constance." The former then drew the further conclusion that the authority of the council, if it erred in such articles, would be of no value in others.

But on the following day, that is, after he had deliberated further on the subject, Luther adduced four statements of Huss which he regarded as truly Christian, although they were condemned in the acts of the council. He endeavored to find a way by which he could nevertheless rescue the honor of the council, by stating that the Council had declared these condemned sentences as heretical only in part, and in part only as rash, and those he had adduced could certainly not be counted among the heretical; he even was willing to believe that the former had been smuggled into the text of the decrees of the council by some forger. Further, he would concede that the decrees of the councils in matters pertaining to faith should always be received. And in order to guard himself against being misunderstood or misinterpreted by anybody, he on one occasion interrupted the disputation, that was being conducted entirely in Latin, and made the declaration in German, that he did not at all want obedience refused to the Romish church, but that the controversy was only on this question, as to whether the supremacy of the Roman church rested upon divine right, that is, on a direct divine institution in the New Testament, or only had an origin and character such as, for example, the imperial power in the German nation had. He was well aware of the fact that the accusation of heresy and schism against him was gaining ground, and that Eck was busy in fostering it. It was with sorrow and a severe struggle that he took this bold stand supported by the Scriptures, against the Council of Constance, which represented the whole Occidental church. But he took no single step further toward recognizing the papacy again, for which he found no Scriptural basis. He remained firm in this, that not even a council, could compel this, or make anything that was not founded in God's word a real element of Christian faith. Again and again he declared that even a council could err.

For five days the debate was carried on in this manner concerning this chief point of the disputation without reaching an agreement.

The further deliberations that treated of Purgatory, Indulgence and Repentance, had after this but little significance. In reference

to Indulgences Eck now also showed surprising moderation. The discussion on the proper conception of purgatory led among other things also to a new and important declaration of Luther concerning the power of the church in relation to the Holy Scriptures. Eck had adduced as Scriptural proof a passage from the so-called apocrypha of the Old Testament, i. e., from those Old Testament books which did not originally belong to the doctrinal sources of the old covenant, but in the church of the Middle Ages had obtained equal authority with the other Biblical books. For the first time Luther over against Eck here opposes this equal recognition, and in general also the right of the church to give canonical authority to a book that did not belong to it.

In this manner the dispute was carried on between Eck and Luther till the 13th of July. Luther closed his case with the words: "I regret that the doctor penetrates the Scriptures as deeply as a water-spider the water, yes, appears to fly from it as the devil does from the cross; I prefer the authority of the Scriptures, notwithstanding my respect for the fathers, which I herewith recommend to those who will in future pass judgment on me."

Only for a short time Carlstadt and Eck then again opposed each other. The disputation had to be brought to a speedy close on the 15th, because Duke George wanted to get ready for a visit of the Elector of Brandenburg in the Pleissenburg. In reference to the universities to whom the acts of this discussion were to be submitted, Paris and Erfurt were agreed upon, but neither of these assumed the responsible task that was assigned them.

Triumphant, lauded by his friends, and recompensed with favor and honor by Duke George, Eck departed from the disputation. He followed up the victory that he thought he had achieved, by exciting the minds of the people still further against Luther, and especially by continually pointing to the union between him and the Bohemians. While yet at Leipsic, he even petitioned the Elector Frederick to have Luther's books burned. The two men from now on and for all future time were irreconcilable enemies, having nothing to do with each other save by bitter controversial writings. Eck was especially active in attempting to induce the papal court at last to formally and publicly condemn Luther.

In Leipsic, Luther had been regarded with the greatest suspicion. The rumor had been spread concerning him among the

populace, that he had something mysterious attached to a small silver ring on his finger, that probably was a little box containing the devil. It was even found surprising and strange that he carried a small bouquet in his hand and looked at it and smelled it. During the same time probably originated the tale that has been publicly reported by one of his theological opponents, which stated that an old pious woman in Leipsic, who had formerly lived with Luther's mother in Eisleben, pretended to know that her son Martin was the product of intercourse with the devil. But for Luther's reputation and for the impression he made by displaying his views, his public appearance in these Leipsic days were more beneficial than a whole series of publications would have been. This was the case especially with educated laymen and scientific men, and also with the mass of the common people, who were also affected by the excitement produced by the controversy. A few months after the contest we hear an opponent complain: "Luther's teaching has caused so much quarrelling, dissension and rebellion among the people that there is scarcely a province or city, village or house, in which are not divisions and fights on its account."

Luther returned to Wittenberg thoroughly disgusted. He thought the time had simply been wasted in Leipsic, and that the disputation had been conducted in an unworthy spirit, as Eck and his friends in Leipsic had not been anxious for the truth. Eck, he said, had done more yelling in one hour than he and Carlstadt would be able to do in two years; and yet the matter under consideration was peaceful theology that is hidden in quiet, mysterious depths. His disgust, however, did not, as could possibly be expected, refer to the treatment which his statement concerning the papal primacy had received, and to the embarrassment into which he had placed himself by it. On the contrary, in his complaints about the unworthy manner in which the disputation had been carried on, he especially excepted this thesis. He meant rather the superficiality and the lack of interest with which such important and vital subjects as that of justification by faith, or that sin still contaminates the best human work, had been passed over. On all the points which he had intended to defend and explain in Leipsic, he afterwards published treatises. And in reference to councils he now declares, with stronger language than he had done in Leipsic, that they without doubt could err and had

erred, even in most important matters, and that neither they nor the pope should be identified with the church.

From this he now also drew the correct inference in reference to his relation to the Bohemians. A companion of Eck, the theologian Jerome Emser, a favorite of Duke George, in a way peculiar to himself, succeeded in drawing him out. Before the commencement of the disputation Emser had had a hot quarrel with him in Leipsic, in which he accused him of having caused offence. Now he wrote a remarkable open letter to a high ecclesiastical dignitary of the Romish church at Prague, named Zack. While stating in this that the Bohemians, who had fallen away from Catholicism, did indeed appeal to Luther, and had even offered up prayers and held services for him during the disputation, he recounts, with an apparent friendliness for Luther, that the latter had there disclaimed all sympathy with them, and had condemned their separation from Rome. Luther saw in this nothing but deception and maliciousness, and we, too, can recognize in it only shrewd trickery, by which he sought to destroy Luther's standing in all directions. "If," says Luther, "I would take his praise in silence, it would seem that I had recanted all my teachings and had been defeated by Eck; if I refused to accept it I would more than ever be decried as the defender of the Bohemians, and at the same time be accused of base ingratitude toward Emser." Accordingly, he came out with a small pamphlet, full of anger and bitterness against Emser, who answered it in a similar spirit. But clearly he explained in it the matter in dispute, by saying that if the Bohemians were satisfied with his teachings, he would, for that reason, not recall these; as regards the Bohemians, he would not defend their errors, but he found that they had Christ, the Holy Scriptures, and the sacraments of the church, and a Christian hatred of the worldliness, the immorality and pride of the Roman clergy; yea, he even hoped and rejoiced that his teachings pleased them, and wished that they would also please Jews and Turks, and Emser and Eck, who were both in the bondage of godless errors.

At that time there were letters on the way for him from two Prague clergymen, Paduschka and Rossdalovicky, members of the Hussitic, Utraquist church (which over against Rome insisted especially on the cup in the Lord's Supper for the laity.) They assured Luther of their joyful and prayerful sympathy in his con-

tests. In addition to this, one of them also sent a present consisting of knives of Bohemian manufacture, the other a book of Huss on the church. Luther received these presents gladly, and answered them by sending his own writings. In reference to the separation from the Romish church, he at that time already had experienced sufficiently how one could find it impossible to continue in her communion, although a separation might occasion much regret and inconvenience.

This then had been the course of the Leipsic battle, while during the same days at Frankfurt on the Main, after the election of an Emperor, the Elector Frederick and the Archbishop of Treves were consulting about a hearing which, according to Miltitz's plan, Luther was to have before the Archbishop, but which they desired to have postponed to an impending Diet. But notwithstanding the outcome of the disputation, and notwithstanding the further publications of Luther, Miltitz thought he need not yet give up his plans. He succeeded in bringing about another meeting with Luther on the 9th of October, in Liebenwerda, where the latter renewed his promise to appear before the Archbishop, but could not obtain the Elector's permission for Luther to travel by himself to the Archbishop. For bringing the Golden Rose, after it had finally been handed over to the Elector, he was richly rewarded with money. But the futility of his plans regarding Luther was apparent enough.

CHAPTER V.

LUTHER'S OTHER WORK, WRITINGS, AND INNER DEVELOPMENT, TO 1520.

LUTHER'S disputation in Leipsic appeared to him simply a waste of time. He longed to be back at his work in Wittenberg. And in reality he continued to be entirely devoted to the work which his calling there demanded, although our historical investigation will now concern itself rather with his labors and contests on the great arena of the church in general. He often became indignant at the provocations that would continually draw him on to this field and regarded them as interruptions in his proper calling.

At home his university work was always combined with that of the pulpit. He burned with zeal to develop out of its original source the Holy Scriptures, for those desirous of acquiring spiritual knowledge, the one great truth of salvation, and at the same time to explain to and impress it upon the hearts of his Wittenberg congregation, learned and unlearned, great and small; but for his students also he sought to explain it as truth that should be the guiding principle of life. For the same purpose he continued his activity in the field of literature, both in the German and the Latin languages. Here he was content for the present to leave out of consideration the theological controversies of which his disputation and the works referring to it, treated. He was fully satisfied simply to give all prominence to the merciful love of God and to the Saviour Christ Jesus, to point out the proper way to these, and to destroy all reliance on mere outward works and achievements, and on human merit or virtue. Only in so far, and because the pretended ecclesiastical authorities opposed this truth and this plan of salvation, he is here too compelled, even before the congregation, to employ the sword of the divine Word against them, and does it accordingly with uncompromising zeal. In all this, in his lectures as in his preaching, in the work of spreading the gospel in general and in his polemical work proper, his whole personality is always engaged; he is always moved in his innermost soul, and is frequently highly

elated by the joyful message which he had experienced himself and was to bring to others, is animated by the love for his fellow Christians whom he would like to save, is zealous and animated for the cause of the Lord; but at the same time, as cannot be denied, he is often carried away by a vivacity of imagination that saw in every opponent also an enemy of the truth. His natural emotions would be profoundly aroused, and his tone and feelings would often find vent in outbursts of the noblest and purest indignation.

In his academic lectures he remained for the future and to the end of his life faithful to the spirit which he had adopted when he became a member of the theological faculty. He simply wanted to expound the word of divine revelation by explaining the Old and New Testament books, but sought in a thorough and impressive manner to explain in connection with his treatment, which on some books extended through several terms, the most important doctrines of Christian faith and life. Thus at the time of the Indulgence controversy, and already since the fall of 1516, he was engaged on the Epistle to the Galatians, in which he saw the fundamental truths of salvation, which he desired to inculcate, namely the doctrine of the office of faith, of God's exacting and punitive law and of God's gracious Gospel, clearly and briefly combined. After that he again took up the Psalms, as he was not satisfied with his own former explanation. He published his explanation of the Galatians while he was engaged with the preliminary negotiations and preparations for the Leipsic disputation. "May his enemies," he says, "busy themselves with their greater things, such as Indulgences, papal bulls, ecclesiastical power, etc; he was content to deal with the smallest, with the divine writings and with that apostle, who had not called himself the prince of apostles, but the least among the apostles." His work on the Psalms also he immediately began to publish.

Crowds of hearers gathered around him, and his lectures were attended by as many as four hundred. In general the number of newly matriculated students in the university increased threefold from year to year during three years following the Indulgence controversy. Luther wrote to Spalatin that the number of students was increasing rapidly like an overflowing stream; the town could no longer contain them, and many had to leave because they could find no lodgings.

This growth of the university to a great extent was also attributable to Melanchthon, who, as we have already stated, had been called by the Elector Frederick as the head teacher of Greek, and who collected, beside the young theological students, a number of others into his lecture room. Of much greater importance for Luther and his work was the personal friendship and unison of spirit, convictions and aims which from the very beginning already most intimately united these two men. The life experience of these two men had been very different.—Philip Melanchthon, born in 1492, as a member of a citizen's family in the village of Bretten in the Palatinate, had enjoyed a happy youth, and a quiet and harmoniously progressing development of his young life. For his scientific training he had had thorough instructors from the beginning, and had been under the guidance of the great philologist Reuchlin, who was the brother of his grandmother. A wonderfully rich and early ripened talent had developed itself in him. In addition to the ancient languages he studied also mathematics, astronomy and law. He also became acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, learned to love them, and while yet a youth became familiar with their contents, without being compelled to learn their value through heavy inner troubles and inner contests or unsatiated longing. Thus he became a Master of Arts when only 17 years of age, and in his 21st he was called to Wittenberg. The young man with his unimposing slender form, his bashful, awkward manners, but beautiful, high forehead, brilliant eye and fine thoughtful features, already by his introductory address dispelled the doubts which his personal appearance had awakened.

In this address he declares that the object of classical studies consisted among other things also prominently in this, that they should teach theologians to draw from the pure and original fountain of the Holy Scriptures. He himself, in addition to a course of lectures on Homer, also delivered a course on the New Testament. And it was the Lutheran conception of the truths of salvation that he, too, in his own further studies of the Scriptures fully adopted.

In the very year of his arrival at Wittenberg Luther already lauds him in a poem. He accompanied Luther to Leipsic. While there he would frequently whisper the results of his learning into the ears of his debating friends, or handed them slips, and

this excited the wrath of Eck. Later he also acquired the lowest theological degrees, namely that of a Bachelor of Theology, in order to have the lawful right of delivering lectures on the Holy Scriptures. He who already as a youth had enjoyed in the fullest measure the treasures of humanistic science, and had become himself the object of the admiration of even Erasmus, found in the Scriptures the "heavenly ambrosia" for his soul, and something higher than all human wisdom. In his independent judgment he already at Luther's side went beyond the traditional teachings of the church, and even went further than his admired friend. He himself assailed the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to which the bread and wine in the sacrament, through the consecrating word of the priest, are changed into the body and blood of Christ in such a manner that nothing remains of the original substances, but that these are present only for the senses.

Luther immediately acknowledged in his new colleague, whom he not only surpassed in age by fourteen years, but also by his superior theological education and experience, the wonderful wealth of talents and learning. We mentioned, when speaking of Luther's sojourn at Augsburg, how closely his heart clung to him, and "the sweet intercourse" with him, and we are not acquainted with any other example where Luther so quickly formed a friendship. His esteem for him increased the better he learned to know him. When Eck tried to ridicule Melancthon by calling him a mere grammarian, Luther said: "I, a doctor of philosophy and of theology, am not ashamed to yield when this grammarian's mind differs from me; I have done so often, and do it daily, on account of the gifts with which God has so bountifully filled this fragile vessel; I honor the work of God in him." "Philip," he says on one occasion, "is a miracle to us all, and if it be the Lord's will, he will surpass many Martins as the enemy of the devil and of scholasticism. This little Hellenist stands above me even in theology." Luther expressed himself in this strain not to special friends of Melancthon in order to please them, and not in public address or in poetry, in which at that time friends were wont to flatter friends, but in confidential letters addressed to those friends who so far had been most intimate with him, such as Spalatin, Staupitz, and others. So ready he was, while we see himself steadily advancing to greater works and successes, to concede superiority

to the new friend whom God had given him. Luther also used his influence with Spalatin to have Melanchthon's salary increased, and thus to secure him for Wittenberg. He, together with other friends, sought to persuade him to marry, because, according to their opinion, he needed a wife who would be better able than himself to take care of his health and his household. In the year 1520 this was done, although Melanchthon had at first refused to entertain the thought, lest it would prove detrimental to his higher enjoyments, namely his learned pursuits.

In the University, Luther was also active for the suitable establishment of many courses of lectures not theological. He further, also, continued his plea to have a thorough teacher of the Hebrew language called. And he also used his influence that a skillful printer, namely the son of the Leipsic printer Lotter, should settle at the University and establish here a press for three languages, German, Latin, and Greek. Also, for everything that was proposed in this respect to the Elector, who was always anxious to have the University flourish, Luther's friend, Spalatin, was the confidential negotiator. Already in the year 1518, Luther had expressed to him the wish and the hope that Wittenberg, to the fame of Frederick the Wise, by a new arrangement of studies, would become the occasion and model for a general reform of the universities. Besides the many arduous tasks with which he was constantly occupied, he took part in the social intercourse with his colleagues, although he complained about the time of which he was robbed by these invitations and social gatherings.

In the city church of Wittenberg he continued his work as preacher not only on Sundays, but also during the week. It was his custom to interpret books of the Old and the New Testaments in regular order, by sermons, and also to explain, specially for children and the youth, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. This work alone, he lamented on one occasion to Spalatin, would really take up the whole time of a man. Without receiving any remuneration, he continued to serve the city congregation. The city council would express its appreciation now and then, by small presents, as for example, by a sum of money when he returned from Leipsic, where he had been compelled to live from his own very meagre means. In plain, powerful, and thoroughly popular language, Luther sought by his preaching to implant into the hearts of the people that filled his

church the divine truth so recently restored. Here, above all, he gained by practice his mastery of the German, as he afterwards employed it in his writings. He and Melanchthon also formed close personal friendships with the better class of Wittenberg citizens. The most influential man among the citizens was the painter, Lucas Cranach, who had emigrated from Franconia, and was the only apothecary of the place, and also conducted a traffic in paper. He was also a member of the council, and later burgomaster, and belonged to Luther's circle of nearest friends. Luther also took great delight in Cranach's art, and the latter soon began, in his way, to employ it for reformatory purposes.

In the spirit of Luther's edifying and practical sermons for the congregation, works of the same character and contents from his hand appeared in rapid succession in print, in addition to his work in the learned ecclesiastical controversies, and showed with what love he labored for the church in general in this field. They are small books or tracts, so-called "sermons." It did not annoy him, he once said, daily to hear from people who despised his poverty, because he only made little books and German sermons for the uneducated laity. "Would to God," he said, "that by the work of my whole lifetime I had helped to better a single layman; I would be satisfied, would thank God, and would gladly then suffer all my books to be destroyed. Whether it is an art, and advantageous to Christianity, to make large and many books, I will let others judge; and I think that if I had a desire to write large books according to their fashion, I would probably, with God's help, be more successful than they would be were they to try to write small sermons in my style; besides, I have never forced or asked anybody to hear me or to read my sermons; I have made a free use in the congregation of that which God has given me, and for which I am responsible; whoever does not like this may read and hear others."

In the same spirit he also wrote after the Leipsic disputation an especially attractive and thoughtfully developed little work of consolation for Christians in all kinds of temptations, and dedicated it to the Elector, as the latter's sickness had been the occasion of its production. Defenders of the traditional church also could not refuse to such a book their applause. Luther's pupil and biographer, Mathesius, expresses the opinion, that such a con-

solatory book had never before been written in the German language. In a similar manner Luther wrote concerning preparation for death, concerning the contemplation of Christ's sufferings, and other subjects. In the space of a few pages he explained for the people the ten commandments, the apostolic confession, and the Lord's Prayer. At the request of the Elector made known to him through Spalatin, although with difficulty finding time for so large a work, he undertook to write a practical explanation of the gospels and the epistles of the Church year especially intended for the use of pastors.

At the same time he proceeded further in the way of independent scriptural research, which, step by step, drew him away from the traditional teachings of the church. But by the light which thereby arose, and the improvements he constantly made, congregations also should be benefited. It is not negative or predominantly critical interests that led him on in this manner, and animated him in his writings. In connection with the blessed teachings of faith that had been so far revealed to him in the Scriptures, new and pregnant truths are opened to him. Over against this, such ecclesiastical doctrines for which he found no warrant in the Scriptures, and which had no connection with this faith, are often left out of consideration by him, and before he thought of it, had lost their importance for him. The new convictions had been fully developed in him even before he had cast aside the old shell.

Thus he now learned and taught especially how to comprehend the significance of the Christian Lord's Supper. The church of the Middle Ages stood in awe before the miracle of transubstantiation in this sacrament, and the body of the Lord, that was present here and became the object of veneration above all, served as a bloodless repetition of the bloody reconciliatory sacrifice on Mount Calvary for the benefit of Christianity and of mankind. This was the highest office of which the priesthood boasted. Entrusted to them by God, this mysterious and sacred service was invested with a multitude of ecclesiastical formulas in the mass. The people looked and heard with religious awe, and although as the consecrated elements were distributed to them also in the Lord's Supper, the use of the cup was nevertheless the exclusive privilege of the priests. Over against this Luther found the whole significance of the ordinance of the departing

Saviour, in agreement with the words "Take, eat, drink," in the blessed and general participation which the Saviour with these words secures for the communing congregation, and of which every one by his receptive faith should become truly a partaker. Here, as he states in a sermon concerning the most sacred ordinance, in 1519, "they shall celebrate and partake of a true communion, namely, communion with the Saviour who nourished them with his body and blood, communion with one another, that they, eating from one bread, should become one communion, one bread, one body united by love, a communion both with all the blessings of their Lord, the head of the communion, and also of the gifts of grace which he had given his church, of all the sufferings she had to endure, and of all the virtues that lived in her. Above all, he further pointed to this, that according to the words of the Lord his blood had been shed for the forgiveness of sin, that he hereby intended to bestow eternal life upon his guests and assured them of this by the gift of his own body." Only in passing, he remarks in this sermon concerning the cup: "It appears proper to me that the church in a general council should again establish that all men, and not only the priests, should receive the sacrament in both forms, also the cup." He had thus already dropped the traditional idea of the sacrifice in the mass, and has also denied and fought against it in later writings. At the same time he pointed to those offerings which Christianity, and indeed every Christian should continually bring to God, namely, that they should offer up to God in heartfelt submission, prayer and thanksgiving, themselves and all they possessed. The question in reference to the transformation of the elements, against which Melancthon had already declared himself, he left out of consideration for the present as an unnecessary subtlety. As he hereby taught that this sacrifice should no longer be offered by the priest, so that special sacerdotal office also was necessarily abolished. In his view, all Christians were priests who offered these sacrifices of their hearts to God. In the place of the distinction between priests and laymen which then prevailed, he now would acknowledge among Christians only the one distinction that arose by transferring the right of the public administration of the word and sacrament. In speaking in a similar manner of the inner significance of baptism in a "sermon," starting out from the baptismal vow, he begins to treat of the

special vows of chastity and the like, esteemed so highly by the Romish church. He still is willing to acknowledge these, but sets up the baptismal vow as the one highest and most comprehensive vow, and that it had been robbed of its former high estimation in the church.

He treated of the whole field of moral and religious life especially in a more lengthy "sermon" "concerning good works," which in the Spring of 1520 he dedicated to Duke John, the brother of the Elector. With clearness and vigor he here shows how faith, upon which everything depends, is itself in the closest relationship with the inner moral life and conduct, and is even the highest agency working in accordance with the divine will, and further that this faith cannot then be idle, that rather the believing Christian, too, necessarily becomes attached to God, upon whose mercy he depends, loves him in return, and in all relations of life energetically and perseveringly does his entire divine will. In a like manner Luther in this connection explains the Ten Commandments for the duke. He, however, does not want the consciences to be any longer burdened with ecclesiastical behests to which no inner moral need corresponded. With earnest and moral exhortations he now also directs his attention against certain wide-spread failings and evils in the public life of the nation, against the intemperate eating and drinking of his Germans, against excessive luxury, against houses of ill-fame, further against usury, concerning which at that time also many complaints were heard. He even published an extra "sermon" against this abuse, in which, in accordance with the idea prevalent in the ancient church, he looks with suspicion on any taking of interest, because Christ had taught us to lend out money only from unselfish motives, and insisted at least on this, that the creditor should take upon himself a part of the risk to which his capital through the circumstances of the times was subject in the hands of the debtor.

He regarded the essence of the church to consist in the inner communion of the believers with each other and with their heavenly Head, concerning which we heard him speak especially in connection with the Lord's Supper. For her maintenance and growth he thought no externals necessary, save the preaching of the word and the use of the sacraments in the way the Lord had established them; she required no Roman papacy, nor any other

outward hierarchic organization. But in the same spirit of love and fraternal union which he now exhibited both towards the Hussites, as well as towards the so-called schismatics of the Oriental church, he wanted the outward communion of the Romish church still to be retained, as this was not identical with the depraved Romish See; and in these very weaknesses and depravity, this love should sympathize and labor for their removal.

And for his own person also he still was willing to do justice to the lesser duties of his condition as monk and clergyman. And yet the higher demands of his calling, the restless activity of preaching and writing, appeared much more important to him. Assiduously he complied with the former, such as praying at regular intervals, singing, reading the *Horas*, in addition to his other work, and thought he could not conscientiously discontinue them. Later he relates how strangely he had acted in this respect at that time. Often he had neglected these exercises during the week, and had made up for this during Sundays, from early in the morning to late at night, without taking breakfast or dinner. In vain his friend Melanchthon points out to him that if the neglect had been a sin, such a foolish repetition could not undo the sin.

But also on the part of the Romish church and her representatives, steps were taken which, as they militated against his beloved divine word, forced him into further battles.

We remember how the papal bull that was directed against his statements on Indulgences, had not mentioned his name in connection therewith. And however scornfully the pope had already spoken of him as a damnable heretic, he had not yet pronounced a formal and public condemnation of him. Two theological faculties, those of Cologne and of Leyden, were the first to pronounce a judgment of condemnation on his writings and himself, and had decided that his writings should be burned and himself be forced to a public recantation. Although they did not pass this judgment until after the Leipsic disputation, they had taken into consideration only a small collection of his earlier writings. He paid his respects to these gentlemen, who in their vain haughtiness, without any proof, had thus passed judgment on Christian truths, in a polemical answer not without sarcasm, telling them that their swaggering was nothing but mere wind, and their curses no more terrible for him than the oaths of a drunken woman.

To a greater extent was he concerned by the first official declaration of a German bishop against him, namely, by the decree which in January, 1520, Bishop John of Meissen issued from his residence at Stolpen. Out of Luther's "sermon" on the sacrament, the statement that treated of the use of the cup, which the church should again grant to the laity, was picked out and attacked. It was the bishop's object to warn the people against the errors and offences that would grow out of this innovation, and that the "sermon" should be condemned. Then Luther worse than ever was branded as an undoubted ally of the Hussites who were also contending for the cup. Horrified at this demand of Luther, Duke George brought complaints against him before the Elector Frederick. The rumor was even spread, that he had been born and educated among the Bohemians.

Luther published against this "more awkward than blundering bishop's scrip," a short and pointed Latin and German answer. He was especially indignant that on this account his "sermon" had been accused of heresy, since his demand, as even his enemies had to concede, contained no contradiction to any ecclesiastical dogma. Of course, for his opponents, that one point was of more practical importance than many deviations in regard to the doctrines of salvation, of which they accused him, since the matter in question was a zealously guarded prerogative of their priesthood, besides comprehending Luther's connection with the "Bohemian heresy." But Luther himself, now fearlessly acknowledged his adherence to the evangelical principles of Huss. Since the disputation he had become better acquainted with them. And now he even wrote to Spalatin: "I have so far, without knowing it, been a pupil of Huss; as has also John Staupitz; in short, we are all Hussites without knowing it; Paul and Augustin are also Hussites;—I am so filled with fear and I do not know what to think of God's terrible judgments among men, as the clearest evangelical truths have for more than one hundred years been burned and condemned, and no one dares say a word."

On the part of the Elector, Luther continued to enjoy a tacit good will, in accordance with which the former warded off all attempts by friendly or threatening words, to induce him to take steps against Luther. Luther thanked him for this even publicly, without the Elector forbidding him such expressions. Thus, for instance, he did this in dedicating the first part of his new

work on the Psalms, which he began to publish in the spring of 1519, and in the dedication of the book of Consolation mentioned above. Spalatin, the confidant of the prince, exhorted him, as he says, to write this latter book, assured that his Electoral Highness would be pleased with it. In the dedication of the Psalms, he expresses his joy at the prince's own sentiments to which he had given expression in a conversation which was reported to Luther by Spalatin. In it Frederick had declared that all those sermons that dealt with human ordinances and human wisdom were cold and weak, and the Scriptures alone were wonderfully powerful and majestic, so that it must be acknowledged that here is more than the learning of Scribes and Pharisees—here is the hand of God. And when Staupitz declared his agreement, the prince had taken his hand, and had said: "Promise me that you will always think thus." At the same time Luther also expresses his thanks that, as the whole country knew, Frederick had cared better for him than he had done himself; he himself in his thoughtlessness had thrown the dice, and had already held himself prepared for the worst, and had only the one hope of being permitted to withdraw into some corner, and then the prince had taken a firm stand in his favor.

But the prince was also always vigilant to keep Luther's impetuosity within bounds. We remarked above that through Spalatin he induced him to exert his talents calmly in defence of the liberty of the Christian pulpit. And when through the decree issued from Stolpen, a new storm threatened to burst forth, the urgent exhortation was conveyed to Luther through Spalatin to bridle his pen, and also the request to send letters with declarations in the service of peace to the neighboring German bishops, namely to the Archbishop Albrecht of Magdeburg and Mayence, and to the bishop of Merseburg.

Luther wrote to both in a thoroughly appropriate tone, that they should not lend their ears to the accusations and slanders that were now being circulated, especially concerning the cup for the laity and the papal supremacy, before they had at least really examined the case; and in this connection he spoke of malicious accusers, who in secret thought of these points exactly as he did.

However, he would not be prevented from publishing his answer to the Bishop of Meissen. And to Spalatin he now, in February, 1520, repeatedly makes use of expressions that are

more bitter than anything published by him before this time, and which indicated that still more pointed declarations could be expected. "Do not think," he says, "that Christ's cause can be advanced on earth in sweet peace, the blessed Word cannot be preached without danger and disturbance; it is a Word of endless majesty, accomplishes great things, and is wonderful among the great and noble; it slays, as the prophet says (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 31), the fattest in Israel, and smites down the chosen; in this case peace will have to be dispensed with, or the Word will have to be denied, the battle is the Lord's, who has not come to bring peace into the world." On another occasion he says: "If you have proper views of the gospel, you will certainly not believe that its cause can be advanced without noise, offense, and excitement; you will never make a pen out of a sword; the Word of God is a sword, it is war, revolution, offense, destruction, and poison; it meets the children of Ephraim, as Amos says, like a bear on the highway, and like a lioness in the woods." Of himself he says: "I cannot deny that I am more violent than I ought to be; they know it, and therefore ought not have provoked the dog. You can learn from your own experience how difficult it is to moderate heat and pen. That is the reason why I am always indignant when compelled to appear in public print; and the more I am compelled, the more I am drawn into it against my will, and this is always occasioned by the most terrible accusations that are heaped upon me and God's Word. This is so terrible, that even if my heat and my pen would not carry me away, a very heart of stone would be moved thereby to take up arms; how much more I, who am hot-tempered, and have a not very blunt pen."

The two ecclesiastical princes did not answer in an ungracious spirit; only they made mention of his too great violence, and of some dangerous effects his writing had on the common people. They refrained from expressing an opinion on the matter itself, a proof that the questions brought forward by Luther could by no means be regarded as already settled in the Catholic Church of Germany as a whole, as the adherents of the strict papal system maintained. Even Albert, the cardinal, archbishop, and chief dignitary of the German Church, permitted himself to call the whole question as to the divine or merely human right of the papal power, one of little importance, that had little to do with

true Christianity, and that it therefore ought not to have become the subject of so violent a quarrel.

From Rome, the highest judicial decision in regard to Luther's cause and person could now be expected. In what spirit the pope was willing to pass it he had already, in the year 1518, clearly announced to Frederick the Wise. It still was not issued, because, on the one hand, care would have even yet to be exercised, and prudence exercised; and, on the other hand, Romish pride continued to underestimate the danger of the German movement. In the meanwhile Eck had fed the fire in Rome by his account of the disputation, and by letters. The theologians of Cologne and Leyden worked toward accomplishing the same result, and the whole Dominican order exerted its influence. Further, the papal claims to supremacy, against which Luther had disputed, now began to be proclaimed with more than ordinary boldness and audacity; Luther's old enemy, Prierias, in a new publication, taught not only a spiritual universal supremacy, but also a temporal, stating that the pope was the head of the whole circuit of the world, and that this was virtually represented and comprehended in him. Eck now justified the claim to the divine right of the papal primate in a whole book, which shrewdly and boldly founded its proof upon forged old documents. With this book he, in February, hastened to Rome, in order to push things in person, and to assist in the birth of the bull of excommunication that was to destroy his adversary and extinguish the flames he had kindled.

But Luther's words, in proportion as they became progressive and bold, had roused the feelings of multitudes to a high pitch. Enemies of Rome, who had arisen from other sides and from other causes, and who also knew how to use other weapons than his, united their efforts with his. In all of these the zeal of battle only grew the more powerful and strong when the attempt was made to crush them with threats of violence.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER'S RELATIONS TO THE HUMANISTS AND THE NOBILITY.

WE have seen how Miltitz was astonished at the sympathy for Luther which he found among all the classes of the German people. The growth of this sympathy is very apparent, especially from the increasing number of copies of his publications which were circulated. The unabridged liberty of re-printing that was then enjoyed, assisted in spreading them abroad. In the year 1520 there were printed and re-printed over one hundred editions of German works from Luther's hand. Although the systematic business spirit of our modern book trade did not exist in those days, this deficiency was made good by the activity of colporteurs, who went with their books from house to house, partly as a business of their own, and partly sent out by friends of the cause, whose interests were to be advanced. Although reading was frequently a difficult task for the common people and even for many in the higher classes, yet travelling students, who in those days were accustomed to go from one university town to another, rendered the necessary assistance. The warm and intensely edifying spirit of his smaller popular works met, as no other religious food of that time did, the needs of educated and uneducated, and awakened still stronger desire. Speedily the elements of his teachings that were not in harmony with the existing state of things in the church, but opposed it, and which were called poison by the opponents, gained an entrance, and the men whom they condemned became dear to the people.

But especially the theologian Luther was now joined by the champions of that Humanism, to whose importance for the spiritual education and the religious and ecclesiastical development of that time we have already directed attention when speaking of Luther's life at the University of Erfurt. In this movement the popular higher scientific culture of the day in general was virtually embodied. The relation between culture in general and the evangelical reformation was the question in the connection between Luther and the Humanists

Luther had previously, before he entered the cloister, formed the friendship of several ambitious disciples of this new movement, or young poets. Later, when after the inner struggles and temptations of his dark days of monastic life, the light of evangelical truth had arisen upon him, we hear him express his sympathy and respect for the two leaders of this school, Reuchlin, when threatened by the advocates of Obscurantism; and the most worthy Erasmus, although Luther was not satisfied with the weapons with which the former was defended by his adherents, and could not suppress his earnest doubts in reference to the theological and religious standpoint of Erasmus.

In the meanwhile those Humanists, who for their own scientific work and life desired to enjoy the greatest possible liberty, had collected under Reuchlin's banner against the Obscurantists, and who now for their part no longer concerned themselves much about ecclesiastical authorities, had for that reason by no means as yet declared themselves for Luther, or paid any attention to the bold monk. Many of them, no doubt, even when he was already hotly engaged in the Indulgence struggle, thought of him as Ulrich von Hutten did, who wrote to a friend that a war had broken out in Wittenberg between some hot-headed monks who were yelling and decrying each other, and it was to be hoped that they would mutually devour each other. The theological questions that were here at stake, did not seem to such free-minded men to be worthy of their notice. At the same time they showed the necessary consideration and respect for the ecclesiastical princes, who favored their learning and their person, notwithstanding the offence that assumption of ecclesiastical functions gave them. Thus Hutten did not hesitate to enter the service of the same Archbishop Albert who had commenced the infamous Indulgence business in Germany, but at the same time tried to play the role of patron of the sciences and arts, and was happy when Erasmus made a public and commendatory mention of him. Nor do we hear that Erasmus ever made any remonstrances against him. From the same standpoint from which Hutten uttered the above sentiment, Mosellanus also, who had opened the Leipsic disputation with an oration, while the preparations for it were still going on, wrote to Erasmus that it would be a singular contest and a bloody quarrel between a couple of scholastics, where Democritus would find enough to

laugh at. And in fact the fundamental theological ideas of Luther, with his doctrine of man's sin and need of salvation, showed no connection with, but rather direct opposition to that Humanistic philosophy of life which had grown out of the cultivation of classical antiquity, and in which a proud, satisfied and free heathenism even appeared to be revived. It was just this inability to understand these doctrines that Luther believed he had observed in Erasmus.

Of greater value in this respect was Melanchthon's coming to Wittenberg. This talented young man, who had absorbed the scientific culture of his day in all its ramifications, had developed his mind in so rich and harmonious a manner, and had also secured the esteem of the learned men through his urbanity everywhere, now found his true happiness in the gospel, and in the method of grace that Luther preached. And while he offered his hand to Luther in the warmest sympathy, he none the less continued to labor further in the fields he had so far been cultivating, retaining his connection with his former co-laborers, and happy in the enjoyment of their recognition and admiration. The Humanists could not but regard it as a significant fact that the most violent attacks on Luther proceeded from the very quarters from which the hostility to Reuchlin had appeared; thus first from Hogstraten and then from the theological faculty at Cologne. Finally, the appearance of the true account of the disputation between Luther and Eck opened the eyes of many to the real greatness of the battle that was being waged for the highest interests of Christian life and true Christian knowledge, and also the greatness of the man who had in so bold and independent a manner dared to undertake it.

In Erfurt, already in the spring of 1518, when he returned from the meeting of the Augustinian order in Heidelberg, over against the displeasure that he had there caused his old teachers, Luther had found in the academic youth a spirit that awakened in him the hope that the true theology would be transferred to the younger generation, as formerly the Christianity rejected by the Jews was transferred to the Gentiles. Friends of the Humanistic sciences were those friends and advisers who had taken him under their protection in Augsburg when he was summoned before Cajetan. We see the Humanistic, scientific and the new religious movements united first outside of Wittenberg, in the most promi-

ment citizens of the flourishing imperial city of Nürnberg, where, as we have already mentioned, Luther's friend Link actively engaged in the good work. Even before the beginning of the Indulgence troubles, the learned jurist Scheuerl there had formed bonds of friendship with Luther, whom in the following year he calls the most celebrated man of Germany. The most prominent Humanist of that city, Willebald Pirckheimer, a distinguished and highly respected patrician and an influential counsellor, and at one time the head of the municipal troops, received information by letters from Luther, in regard to the progress of his studies and opinions in reference to the papal power, and afterwards made Luther's adversary in Leipsic the subject of an anonymous and biting satire called "Eck roughly planed." The thorough scientifically trained secretary of the Nürnberg council, Lazarus Spengler, was also united in hearty Christian sympathy with Luther, and in 1519 published a "Defence and Christian Answer," which was a worthy and powerful ally of Luther's own popular writings. Out of the number of those theologians who stood in more intimate connection with Erasmus, John Œcolampadius, who was almost of Luther's age, and was at that time a pastor in Augsburg, towards the close of the year 1519, aroused by Eck, issued a small publication against the latter and in behalf of Luther's cause. Erasmus himself finally declared, as early as 1518, at least in a private letter to Luther's friend Lange in Erfurt, who certainly did not leave Luther unacquainted with its contents, that Luther's theses would almost without exception please all good men; that the present supremacy of the papacy was a plague for Christianity, though it indeed was a question whether tearing open this wound would bring relief, and that it was not apparent how the matter could be brought to a close without a rupture.

Luther on his part approached Reuchlin and Erasmus by letters; to the former he wrote at Melancthon's urgent request already in December, 1518, and to the latter in the following March. Both letters are throughout clothed in refined language, which was in place when addressing these learned men, especially Erasmus, and full of warm expressions of veneration and respect, but yet in a thoroughly dignified tone, without the gushing effusions which Erasmus was accustomed to hear in superabundance from his ordinary admirers. But the other side of his opinion of Erasmus, as he had formed it in his heart, and had already pre-

viously expressed it to friends, Luther in this letter did not give. We see how, notwithstanding this, he was anxious for a closer connection with Erasmus.

Reuchlin, at that time already aged, showed no sympathy with Luther or with the questions raised by him. He even wished to save his nephew Melancthon from these perilous transactions, by having him called away.

Erasmus answered in rather strange terms, that he had not yet read Luther's writings, but would advise that no one should decry them before the people without having read them. He himself believed that more could be accomplished by learned and measured efforts than by violence, and thought himself called upon to warn against all arrogant and passionate language; but with this he did not want to admonish Luther as to what he should do, but that he should continue to act as he had already begun. The main idea that he expresses is the fear that the movement instigated by Luther's writings would furnish the opponents an occasion for depreciating "the noble sciences," and for suppressing them. His concern for these, which were really the true subjects of his studies and pursuits, always predominated above all other interests. Nor did the evils of the church become only the objects of Erasmus' wit; he also earnestly desired an improvement in ecclesiastical affairs, a purification and elevation of the moral and religious life as well as of theological science; and the high esteem in which he was held made him a man of great influence, even with the higher clergy and the ecclesiastical princes. But from the very beginning he already recognized, as he states in the letter to Lange, the great difficulties and dangers of an attack on the points touched by Luther, probably more clearly than the latter did himself. And while Luther then boldly awaited the disturbances which the Word would necessarily create in the world; and appealed to the Word of Christ that he had come to bring the sword, Erasmus feared nothing more than tumult and revolution. In harmony with his entire natural disposition and the whole bent of his character, he anxiously clung to the quiet course of his studies and the continuance of his mental enjoyments. The incisive and principal questions, such as concerning the divine right of the papal power, the unconditional right of ecclesiastical authority, or the freedom of a biblical Christian judgment, he sought to keep at a distance, while, after these prin-

ciples had once been publicly called into question, silence or concealment would have been regarded by both of the contending parties as a betrayal of truth.

We shall see how this learned man was subsequently disposed toward Luther and the Reformation, from the standpoint upon which he stood, with his personal interest in ecclesiastical affairs.

For the present Luther was greatly indebted to the opinions Erasmus expressed concerning him, although they were of so cautious a character. The decided testimony of Erasmus that Luther's character and walk were entirely beyond reproach, was of great importance in relation to those not immediately concerned. His influence we can also unmistakably detect in the answer of the Archbishop Albert to Luther, in its still gracious restraint from any accusations, as also in its remarks concerning unnecessary wrangling. The Archbishop had previously received opinions from him by letter concerning Luther, in which he compares the excesses of which the latter was accused, with the excesses of the papistic party, and in which he also complains of the corruptions in the church, especially the lack of evangelical preaching. To the chagrin of Erasmus this letter was published, and contributed more to Luther's credit than had been his intention. The hopes which Luther had reposed on the younger generation in Erfurt were fulfilled, first in this, that the so-called poets now also began to read and explain the New Testament. Theology, which in its scholastic and monkish form was despised by them, attracted them also as being the science of the Holy Scriptures. Justus Jonas, ten years younger than Luther, a friend of Cobanus Hess, and one of the most talented members of the poets' circle, now abandoned the study of the law, to which he had been devoting himself, and which he had already commenced to teach, and turned his attention to theology. To the veneration for Erasmus was now added an enthusiasm for Luther, the brave champion of the Word, who had gone out from Erfurt. Jonas now formed a very close friendship not only with Luther's friend, Lange, but also with Luther himself. Erasmus had encouraged him when he adopted theology as a study; Luther, when he heard of it in the year 1520, wished him joy in this step, because he had stepped out of the stormy sea of the jurists into the haven of the Holy Scriptures.

More zealously, however, than all the other Erfurters, Crotus,

Luther's former fellow-student, had already before this sought a closer relation with him, and this even from Italy, where, since the fall of 1518, upon hearing the news from Germany, he had become enthusiastic for him, and had, as he says, from his own observation become acquainted, with the offences and abominations against which Luther battled, to a much greater extent. He who formerly in the letters of the "Obscure Men" had, according to Luther's opinion, not failed to combine a holy earnestness with his satire, now also expressed his agreement with the fundamental ideas of Luther's religion and theology, namely, the high estimation put upon the Holy Scriptures and the evangelical doctrines of salvation. He repeatedly wrote to Luther, and, while reminding him of their life at Erfurt, he gives an account of the "chair of pestilence" and the agitations of Eck there, and encourages him to continue his onward course. With these are strangely mingled in his letters, with religious and Christian sentiments, expressions such as the poets were accustomed to employ; he would like to see his Martinus honored as a father of his fatherland, who was worthy of a golden statue and a yearly festival, as he had been the first to attempt to free the people of God and direct them in the path of true piety. Probably already in Italy, and then also after his return, with his own peculiar literary diligence, he worked for Luther through anonymous pamphlets. By his influence the Humanistic theologian, Johann Hess (afterwards reformer of the Breslau church), toward the close of the year 1519, came from Italy to Wittenberg, to Luther and Melancthon. Crotus himself arrived in Germany in the early spring of 1520.

And here the personal friend of Crotus, Ulrich von Hutten, had already joined the Humanists who were favorable to the Lutheran movement—a man who could not only wield a sharp and fiery pen as scarcely another in that circle could, but also declared himself ready to grasp the sword for the cause he defended, and call to arms the powerful associates of his class. He was descended from an old Franconian family, which was indeed not in possession of much property and wealth, but had inherited an old knightly independence. Hatred of the monastic system, and everything connected with it, filled his soul from his early youth; for while yet a boy he had been placed in a cloister by his father, and when sixteen years of age he had, with Crotus' assistance,

fled from it. As he shared the scientific enthusiasm of his friend, he acquired the ability to write with great fluency the poetical and rhetorical Latin employed by the Humanists of that day. In all his adventures and restless wanderings to and fro, he preserved an elastic and elevated cast of mind, with which he sought to serve the cause of human liberty and freedom of thought, and a knightly valor that drove him into battle with an openness and honesty not often to be found in his Humanistic companions. Although he laughed at Luther's cause as a miserable quarrel of monks, he himself already inflicted a wound on the traditional papal claims by a new edition of a famous and long-deceased Italian Humanist, Laurentius Valla, on the so-called Grant of Constantine, in which the forgery of the edict by which that emperor was said to have ceded to the papal see the possession of Rome, of Italy, and even of the whole Occident, was exposed beyond refutation. Hutten dedicated the book to Pope Leo himself. This knight and Humanist, however, distinguished himself beyond all the rest, who battled for the intellectual progress and against the ecclesiastical and monkish oppressions and arrogance, by his bold Germanic spirit, by zeal for the honor and independence of his nation. He saw her enslaved in ecclesiastical dependence on the papal see, and by the arbitrary will and extortion which the latter permitted itself to exercise. With indignation he heard in what a contemptuous manner they spoke in Italy of the stupid and uncivilized Germans, how even on German ground the Romish emissaries paraded their haughtiness, how also unfaithful Germans degraded themselves before the papal throne by their fawning and servile actions, and thus gave rise to ridicule and contemptuous treatment. He gave the warning of the uprising of German freedom, that had almost been totally suppressed by Rome. At the same time he upbraids the Germans on account of the evils to which they were addicted, especially intemperance, against which we have already heard Luther raise his voice; farther, on account of the evils then so prevalent, namely the inclination to a life of luxury and the usurious practices in trade and commerce, against which Luther also had spoken. As was the dignity of Germany, so also was the honor and power of the imperial government, a matter of deep concern to him. In all this, of course unconsciously, he was guided by the special views and interests of the knightly order. The knights recog-

nized in the imperial power a main support of their order, as the imperial government, together with the influence of the knights, had sunk through the increasing power of the lower princes. In the flourishing class of German citizens, he saw principally only a mercantile spirit in connection with the evils mentioned. In the fixed regulations of justice and peace, which with much labor had been established in Germany at the close of the middle ages, he could least of all find himself at home; when he saw himself or the cause of justice in any way insulted, he preferred the old violent means of retribution. In this Hutten carried out the spirit of true knighthood.

A material ability to bring into effect reformatory thoughts in the political field or in the outward ecclesiastical fields so closely connected with the former, was entirely wanting in Hutten. Besides, we never find in him any fixed clear and positive plans and ideas for reforms, nor a clear and calm appreciation of the existing state of affairs and needs out of which alone such plans and ideas could arise. His call, no matter how loud and exciting it might be, had not the effect of rousing men to activity, but was echoed into the far distant and the uncertain.

But now he received, in the person of Franz von Sickingen, the knight of "manly, honest and daring soul," as he is designated in old chronicles, a companion who was energetic, powerful, skilled in war and versed in politics. The latter had beautiful possessions, and among them the well-fortified castles Landstuhl, near Kaiserslautern, and Ebernburg, near Kreuznach, and had already in a number of engagements, which he had undertaken in his own interests or for the injured rights of others, exhibited the energy and skill with which he knew how to collect bands of soldiers and prosecute his plans with them in a reckless manner of warfare. Now Hutten won him for the cause of Reuchlin, who was still entangled in a law suit with the old heresy-hunting accusers Hogstraten and the Dominican monks of Cologne; a judicial decision by which the accusations of the latter were declared groundless, and they themselves condemned to pay the heavy costs of prosecution, at their instigation was not sanctioned by the pope. Against them and the whole Dominican order of Germany, Sickingen now declared war in favor of the "venerable and pious Doctor Reuchlin." In spite of their delay and resistance, they were compelled to pay the sum. In the meanwhile

Hutten's eyes, probably through the influence of his friend Crotus, were opened in regard to the monk Luther. While visiting Sickingen in January, 1520, at the castle Landstuhl, they consulted together about the assistance which Luther needed, who was threatened with excommunication, and Sickingen offered him protection in his castle. At the same time Hutten also commenced to publish the most violent polemical writings and satires against Rome. Thus especially he wrote one which he called "The Romish Trinity," as in it he produced a long series of Romish usurpations and tricks, sins and offences, in such a manner that three of each were classified together. At Easter he also personally took counsel in Bamberg with Crotus, who had now returned home.

In their wishes and objects pertaining to the affairs of Germany and of the church, the two knights placed cheerful reliance on the new youthful emperor, who now had started from Spain, and on the first of June had landed on the coast of the Netherlands. Sickingen had been influential in securing his election. He hoped to find in him a truly German emperor, the opposite of Francis, king of France, who was at that time trying to procure the imperial throne. And, as was well known, the pope had opposed Charles' election, and Frederick, Luther's chief friend, had been his ablest advocate. From Charles' brother, Ferdinand, favorable action was expected also, for the reason that he was a friend of the noble sciences. Hutten even expected to secure a position at his court.

From this side then a friendly hand was offered to Luther.

From Luther's mouth we hear the name of Hutten for the first time in February, 1520, and then in reference to his edition of Valla's work. To this work, although it had been issued two years before, his attention was now for the first time drawn by a friend. It aroused him wonderfully: the lies that were exposed by it confirmed him in the idea that the pope was the real anti-Christ.

Shortly afterwards, Melanchthon received a letter from Hutten which contained Sickingen's offer. A message which Hutten had sent some weeks previously had not reached its destination. Sickingen had authorized him to write, and in a careful manner. In order that his connection with Luther might not become public, he conducted the negotiations through Melanchthon. Sickingen, he writes, invites Luther, in case he is threatened by dangers, to

take refuge in his castle, and would do for him what he could. For his own part, he adds, that Sickingen would be able to accomplish so much as he had done for Reuchlin; Melanchthon could see, he says, what Sickingen had then written to the monks. In a mysterious manner he even spoke of important deliberations he was now carrying on with Sickingen; he hoped that it would fare badly with the barbarians, *i. e.*, the enemies of progress and culture, and with those who wanted to make men submit to the Roman yoke. In these plans he rests his hope, as he says, on Ferdinand. After his meeting with Crotus in Bamberg, Crotus also advises Luther not to despise the good will of Sickingen, this powerful leader of the German nobility. It was rumored at that time that Luther, in case he could no longer remain in Wittenberg, would flee to the Bohemians. Crotus urgently warns him against this, saying that this was the very step to which his enemies would like to force him, because they knew how offensive the name Bohemia was to the Germans. Hutten himself then also wrote to Luther, admonishing him in pious and biblical language to remain firm and to continue his work of delivering the fatherland, repeated the invitation of "N" (for he did not mention the name), and assured him that the latter would bravely defend him against all his enemies.

At the same time Luther received an invitation of a similar kind from the knight Sylvester von Schauenburg. He, too, had heard that Luther intended to fly to the Bohemians. But he would, with a hundred other noblemen whom, with God's help, he would collect, protect him from his adversaries until the difficulty had been settled in a proper Christian manner.

Whether Luther had really entertained the thought of a flight to Bohemia, cannot now be clearly proved. But we know how keenly, already in the fall of 1518, after he had announced to the legate his refusal to recant, he saw before him the duty and necessity of leaving Wittenberg. How much clearer this must have become for him now, when the news of the impending decision from Rome came in, when the Elector himself received warning from there, and in Germany already protests against any further toleration of his work had been sent in to Frederick by a prince like Duke George of Saxony. All hopes of refuge which Luther, as he formerly thought, might possibly find in Paris, were abandoned. Since the days of the Leipsic disputation he had in

the progress of his teachings, and especially by his declaration for Huss, gone far beyond that which the University in Paris wanted or tolerated.

While in this position, he received the invitation from Sickingen. He regarded it as a manifest providence from above. The letters which he sent in answer have not been preserved. However, we are informed that he wrote to Hutten that he placed greater hopes on Sickingen than on any prince under heaven. Schauenburg and Sickingen, as he says, freed him from the fear of men; he would now undoubtedly be compelled to endure the rage of demons. He wished that the pope also should be informed that he would find protection against all his thunder, not in Bohemia, but in the heart of Germany, and in this stronghold would be able much better than in his present official position to attack the Romanists.

In the course of the contest, when taking into consideration the actions of his opponents, and through the accounts which he received concerning the affairs of the papal see, the picture of deep corruption and profane vileness, that he there saw, had been intensified. The most valuable contributions to these views he now found in the pamphlets of the men mentioned above, and in the representation of men of similar convictions, which, as for instance, those of Hess and different others, came to him from Italy.

At the same time the conscious feeling of being a German had become more and more active in him, and he also thought of that which the Christians of Germany especially had to suffer from that quarter. A vivid consciousness of this was awakened in him ever since the Augsburg diet of 1518, with its protest against the papal demands, its complaints of the German nation, and the vigorous writings in connection with these measures which were circulated at that time. In the year 1519, he appealed to the fact that at Augsburg the German states had made a distinction between the Romish church and the Romish curia, and had refused to listen to the demands of the latter; but that to the Romanists, who identified the two, the German appeared a mere blockhead, fool, simpleton, barbarian and beast, and that they only laughed at the German for permitting himself to be made a fool of and be plundered. Now his word was united with the loud voice of Hutten, whose special aim was to arouse the people, as such, to insurrection and conflict.

It had been laymen who up to this time had introduced these complaints in the diet, also those with reference to church affairs, and who now also by means of pamphlets attacked the degeneracy and oppressions of the church. But it was Luther who first insisted that the opinion of layman, when it was in accordance with the sacred word, should be estimated as high and even higher than that of a clergyman or ecclesiastical prince; and he attributed a truly priestly character to Christians in general. He calls those lay delegates at Augsburg "lay-theologians." Now then such prominent laymen as these noblemen offered their services as active workers in the German church. Gladly did he and Melanchthon share their confidence in the new head of the empire.

In several publications of Luther, issued in quick succession, the loudest battle-cry and at the same time the idea of a reformation proceeding from the laity found their expression, and in this connection he always entertained the sentiment that the laity, in their civil and national organization, were represented in the governments and states.

We find in these writings powerful effusions of holy zeal and language, pregnant with Christian instruction, together with violent eruptions of the naturally ardent disposition of Luther. Compared with them, the best polemical writings of the Humanists, and even the stormy publications of a Hutten seem only like flashes of rhetoric, graceful reflections, and artfully constructed witticisms.

Already the above-mentioned "sermon" concerning good works, which is so edifying and rich in instruction and exhortation, gives occasion for the complaint that all the wealthy endowments for church services, preaching, and the like, now were spent to pay the pope's clique, his servants, and even his children and concubines; and it suggests that the best and only remaining remedy was this, that kings, princes, nobility, cities, and congregations, should make a beginning themselves, and put "an end to this thing," so that the clergy, who had hitherto been intimidated, should join in this crusade. The bans and threats should no longer disturb any one; it was of as little consequence as when a lunatic father threatened his son who resists him.

The sharpest answers from Luther's pen were accordingly called forth by two publications which, in opposition to him, defended

and extolled the divine authority and power of papacy, namely, one by a Franciscan monk, Augustin von Alveld, and the already mentioned work of Sylvester Prierias, which had the greatest influence of all.

He attacked "the Alveld ass" (as he expresses himself in a letter to Spalatin) in a lengthy refutation, namely, in the work "Concerning the Papacy in Rome," because he thought it necessary that at last the secrets of the antichrist should be exposed. "From Rome," he says, "there flow over all the world all evil examples of spiritual and worldly folly as from an ocean of all wickedness; and whoever deplored this was regarded by the Romans as a 'bon Christian,' that is, a fool." The proverb, "Filch money out of the German fool as best you can," he said, was quite common in Rome. If the German princes and nobility would not "in valorous energy soon put a stop to this," Germany would yet be devastated or would have to devour itself.

Prierias' book caused him to exclaim in his letter to Spalatin: "I believe at Rome they have all become crazy, foolish, wrathful, silly, fools, wood, stone, hell and devils." He published it, and added a short introduction and concluding words. These few pages, written in Latin, contain the sharpest words that we hear from his mouth in reference to the yet "remaining means;" and in reference to the brave "assistance," or intervention: namely, emperors, kings and princes would some time have to draw their sword against the fury and plague of the Romanists. "If we," he says, "hang thieves and decapitate murderers, and burn heretics, why do we not attack these cardinals, and popes, and the whole offal of the Romish Sodom with all our weapons, and bathe our hands in their blood?" What he really now demands is, as he continues, that the pope, too, according to Christ's command, in Matt. xviii. 15 sqq., should be taken into discipline, and if he would not hear, he should be regarded as a publican and sinner.

While these pages were under the press, toward the middle of June, Hutten, full of hope and accompanied also by Luther's and Melanchthon's good wishes, journeyed to the brother of the emperor in the Netherlands, and on his way in Cologne visited the learned Agrippa von Nettesheim, as the latter himself reports, "in company with several adherents of the Lutheran party." On this occasion, as Agrippa remarks with horror, they gave expression to such ideas as: "What have we to do with the Romans

and their bishop? Have we not archbishops and bishops in Germany, that we should kiss the foot of the bishop at Rome? Let Germany turn to her own bishops and shepherds." The expenses of this journey were paid by Hutten, out of moneys which he had drawn from the Archbishop Albert. This shows that the bond between these two was not yet dissolved. Albert was the first among the bishops of Germany; Hutten, and very probably he himself, may have thought that a reform brought about by the emperor and the states might elevate him to the headship of a German national church.

But Luther had already commenced a book, which was intended to make a loud call upon the laity to lend their aid to the great work, in establishing the Christian foundation firmly, in setting forth in a wider compass the most crying wants of the times, and limiting their pernicious influence. He was animated with a burning desire to exhibit the truth in more glowing and expressive terms than ever.

CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION, AND OF THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

TO THE first of these works Luther gave the title: "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nations, Concerning the improvement of the condition of Christian Culture."

In a letter to his friend and colleague, Amsdorf, which he published as a forerunner to this work, he begins by saying: "the time to be silent is passed, and the time to speak has come." He continues by announcing that he has some points concerning the improvement of the state of things in the church to bring to the consideration of the Christian nobility of Germany, trusting that God would help his church through the laity, since the clerical order had become so utterly careless. If he should be charged with presumption for daring to address such exalted ranks on such important matters—well, perhaps he owed to his God and to the world some specimen of absurdity, and was willing to become for once a court-fool. But inasmuch as he was an accredited doctor of the holy scriptures, he would rejoice in the opportunity of making proof of his oath in this manner.

Then he turns to the "most serene, the most potent imperial majesty, and the Christian nobility of the German nation" with the greeting: "Mercy and Grace from God, most serene Highness, most gracious and beloved Sirs!"

The misery and burdens of Christendom, and especially that of Germany, has forced him, as he says, to cry unto God, invoking him to inspire some one to extend his hand to the distressed nation. He declares that he has based his hope in this matter in the noble young blood, the emperor whom God has chosen as its head. At the same time he was ready to do his share also.

The Romanists, however, have surrounded themselves by three walls, in order to prevent any reformation. For in the first place they say, that the worldly power has no control over them, the clergy, but that the spiritual was exalted above the temporal; in the second place, the holy scriptures, which are to be used

against them, could only be expounded by the pope; in the third place, no one could call a council except a pope. In answer to this, Luther calls upon God for one of those trumpets by which the walls of Jericho were demolished, to blow down also these straw and paper-built fortifications.

1. His attack on the first wall is of itself decisive of all the rest. It consisted in his tenets concerning the spiritual and priestly character of all Christians, who have come forth out of baptism and have been consecrated by the blood of Jesus, (1 Peter ii. 9. Revel. v. 10). Thus they are according to Luther of *one* character and of *one* class. The special office or work of the so-called clergymen or priests consists merely "in administering the word of God and the sacraments" in the congregation. The authority to do this is indeed granted by God to all Christians, for all are priests; but for this very reason no individual can assume it without the consent and the commission of the congregation. The ordination of these so-called ecclesiastics by a bishop can really have no further significance, than that one has been selected from the body of Christians, who all possess equal authority, and has been commissioned to exercise this authority for all. They fill this special office in the same way that other members of the congregation, viz: the civil authorities, carry the sword to punish the evil-doer and to protect the innocent. They occupy it just as every shoemaker, blacksmith or farmer has his handicraft, and yet belongs to the common priesthood. And now as this civil authority exercises its functions in its proper sphere unfettered and unimpeded, in which neither pope nor bishop has a right to meddle, so the man called by the church to minister in holy things should pursue his vocation untrammelled by a self-constituted hierarchy.

2. This spiritual character of Christians is sufficient to break down also the second wall. Christ says of all Christians (John vi. 45), that they shall be taught of God. Thus a common man, if he be a true Christian, may have a proper knowledge of the scriptures; whilst the pope, if he be wicked and not a true Christian, will not be taught of God. If the pope alone were always right, our prayers would be: "I believe in the pope at Rome," and thus the whole Christian church would have to follow one man obsequiously, which would be nothing else than diabolical and destructive error.

3. After this the third wall falls of itself. For, says Luther, wherever the pope acts contrary to the scriptures, it is our duty to stand by them and to reprove him, according to the instruction of Christ concerning the discipline among brethren (Matth. xviii. 17), which says: "Tell it unto the church." The congregation, however, or Christendom, should be assembled in a council. And as the most renowned of the councils, that of Nice, and others after it, had been called together by the emperor, thus, wherever necessity demands it, any one who has the first opportunity should do his share as a faithful member of the entire body, that a truly free council be called: "which no one can do so effectively as the temporal powers, who are fellow-Christians and fellow-priests." It is in this case as with a fire breaking out in a city; no one would suffer it to continue to burn, because he did not happen to possess the authority of the mayor, but every citizen would feel compelled to call the others to assistance: thus it should be in the spiritual city of Christ whenever a fire of offence arises; Luther does not enter upon the question how such a council according to his views should be composed. We may take it, however, for granted, considering all things, that he wished also the laity to be represented on such an occasion; it is doubtful, however, to what an extent he may have wished at the same time a representation of those temporal powers as such, and of the Christian congregation in general as a part of the political organization. His chief demand was that the council should be an unfettered Christian body, not obligated by any oath to the pope, not bound by a so-called Catholic law, but subject only to the Word of God.

In seventy-six paragraphs Luther explains the points which should be considered by such a council, and in which a reform should be insisted upon.

The arrogance of popery, the temporal courtly pomp with which the pope surrounds himself, the idolatrous service rendered to him, is an offence to Luther and altogether anti-Christian. He is called the lord of the world, making a brilliant parade with a three-fold crown, and an ostentatious display of worldly magnificence, and surrounded with a numerous crowd of attendants and servants, whilst he pretends to the vicegerent of the Lord, who dwelled upon earth in poverty and gave himself to death on the cross, and who declared that his kingdom was not of this

world. In a more explicit manner, he exposes the divers ways in which the Romish tyranny had subjugated unto itself the churches of the different countries, especially that of Germany: how it abused and oppressed it with all kinds of fees and taxes, by removing ecclesiastical trials to Rome, by the increase of prebends in the hands of Roman favorites of the worst kind, by a scandalous and usurious sale of dispensations, by an oath which the bishops were compelled to make to the pope, which enslaved them and at the same time acted as a hindrance to all reform, etc., etc. Especially does Luther here recognize the anti-Christ in the greediness after money and the skill in procuring it in all places; for it was foretold of the anti-Christ that he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver. (Daniel xi. 8, 39, 43.)

Indeed, Luther was not willing to await the abolishment of these oppressions and usurpations by a council. He declares that every prince, nobleman and city, should at once abolish and forbid such taxes; that the nobility should resist the unlawful removal of ecclesiastical prebends and fiefs to Rome. If any one should appear in Germany with such demands from the pope's court, he should be commanded either to desist from them, or with all his seals and letters, together with the Romish ban, to leap into the next adjacent river. Altogether Luther demands, even as Ulrich von Hutten did at the same time, that the different churches, and especially the German church, should order and manage their affairs independently and in their own circle. The bishops shall not receive their consecration at Rome, but as already the Nicene council decided, from some bishops in the neighborhood or from an Archbishop. The German bishops should be placed under their own primate. He should organize a general consistory, with chancellors and counsellors, which might receive the appeals from German countries. Nevertheless Luther desires to continue to the pope a highest position in the Christian church at large; such matters of importance, concerning which the primates could not agree, should be reported to him. Another point of view concerning the general form of government of the church is here mentioned by Luther; not external management and the right to rule, in his opinion, constitute the true dignity of the ecclesiastical office, nor that of a bishop or pope, but that the dispensation of the Word is the only ground

of the sacerdotal office. For this reason he does not wish the pope to be burdened with matters of small import. He refers to the fact that the Apostles did not consider it proper "to leave the Word of God and serve tables, but give themselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the Word." (Acts vi. 2.) The so-called spiritual rights of the ecclesiastical law-books he desires to be obliterated even to the last letter: there is enough of it in the sacred Scriptures; moreover, the pope himself no longer follows it, asserting that he carries all right in the shrine of his own heart.

In accordance with what Luther has said concerning the relations of the temporal and ecclesiastical powers in general, he then protests most earnestly in favor of the German empire over against the "most haughty and outrageous presumption" of the pope, who arrogates to himself power over the emperor, suffering him to kiss his foot and to hold his stirrup. It is indeed true that in his spiritual office, in his preaching and administering the means of grace, the pope is above the Emperor, but in all other things he is below him.

Entering upon further discussion concerning interior ecclesiastical, moral, and social customs and conditions, Luther now made his most important demand: the abolishment of the celibacy of the clergy. If popes and bishops desire to burden themselves with celibacy of their own free will, it shall not trouble him. He desires to speak only of the minister whom God has appointed, whose services to preach and to administer the sacraments every congregation stands in need of, and who should live among the people. Not an angel from heaven, much less the pope, would dare to bind him to anything to which God had not bound him, and thus force him into temptation and sin. The monastic life should at least be restricted. Luther would like to see the chapters and monasteries turned into Christian schools, where the Scriptures and discipline were taught, and men educated for the service of the government and the ministry. He desires further, that any one should be at liberty to forsake them. Further on he complains, as he had already done in a former sermon, of the "heathenish custom" of sanctioning houses of ill-fame, and in this connection again speaks of the celibacy of ministers and monks. He fears that many feel themselves drawn toward these occupations, only because they expect to find in them an easier

way of living than in a regularly married life. For this reason they are at first extravagant and thoughtless, declaring that thereby they intend to "sow their wild oats," whilst, as experience proved, "they did not sow, but cherished it in their own unclean hearts."

The restrictions of Lent should be abolished, because these human laws are opposed to evangelical freedom; abolished also should be the many festivals and holidays, because they foster idleness, rioting and gambling; the useless pilgrimages to Rome should be checked, because they cost a great deal of money, whilst wife, and children, and the poorer fellow-Christians are in want at home, and in addition they lead to scandals and temptations. Luther demands great things concerning the care of the poor: all begging shall be abolished among Christians; every town shall take care of its own poor, and keep at a distance foreign mendicants. As in those times not only the lower, but also the higher schools, stood in connection with the church, Luther also gives advice regarding reforms among them. He points out those works of the ancients, which should be read by the faculty of philosophy, and those which should be cast aside as useless or even dangerous. Concerning the temporal law-system, he joins in the common complaint of the Germans of that day, that it had become a perfect wilderness; every country should be governed by "its own brief laws." For the children he desires schools not only for the boys, but also for the girls, at least in every town. He bewails the manner in which the young people are suffered to languish and to perish in the midst of Christendom, because the bread of the gospel is not given to them.

He also refers again to the affair of the Bohemians, that a stop might at last be put to the mutual revilings and calumnies. Regarding Huss, he remarks, that though he might have been a heretic, heretics should be overcome with arguments and not with fire—otherwise the hangmen, he remarks, would be the most learned doctors on earth.

Finally he refers to the defects of both public and private life; he speaks of the extravagance in dress, delicacies, etc., of German intemperance, of demanding interest for borrowed money, and of usury. He would like to put a bridle into the mouths of the large joint-stock companies, and especially of that rich merchant, Mr. Fugger; for truly there must be something wrong and con-

trary to divine law, where such an immense royal fortune is gathered within a lifetime. To him it seems "much more according to God's pleasure to increase husbandry and to decrease commerce." Thus he speaks as the man of the people, who at that time had become suspicious concerning these money matters, recognizing these really existing moral and national perils, though not possessing the necessary knowledge of the supply and demand of trade. He himself adds: "I recommend this to the wise of the world; I as a theologian have nothing further to do with it than to reprove the evil appearance of it. (1 Thess. v. 22.)"

So large a sphere does this small publication cover; we have mentioned only the main points. Luther himself makes this confession at its close: "I indeed fear that I have pitched my voice too high, proposed too many things which may be considered as impossible, attacked many things too severely;—I am obliged to say that if I could, I would also act accordingly; for I would rather have the world angry with me, than God." Rome, however, remained the chief point of his attacks. Referring to this he says: "I yet know a song about Rome; if their ear should itch, I am ready to sing it, and will tune my notes to the highest pitch." He concludes: "God grant us all a Christian understanding, and to the German nobility especially a truly Christian courage, to do the best for the poor church. Amen."

Whilst Luther was working at this pamphlet, new and alarming news from Rome, and remonstrances made from thence to the Elector, were communicated to him through Spalatin. But at the same time he received the assurance of protection from the Knight Schauenburg. Luther's answer to Spalatin was: "The die has been cast; I despise both the hatred and favor of Rome; I do not desire any reconciliation nor communion with it." Friends who heard of this new work, were frightened. Staupitz endeavored to dissuade him even in the last hour. But no less than 4,000 copies were printed and distributed already in the first week of August. A new edition became at once necessary; Luther added another chapter, in which he refuted the assertion of the pope, that through him the Roman empire had come into the possession of the Germans. Well might Luther's friend Lange call this publication "a war-trumpet." The Reformer, who at first desired only to open and teach the true way of salvation to souls, and to battle for this with the sword of his word

has indeed here taken in a decided and impetuous manner that other step, by which he demands the abolishment of the illegal and anti-Christian outward forms of the Romish church, and even calls the temporal powers with their weapons, if need be, to assistance. The explanation for this is to be found, as we have seen, in the advancement of his Christian, moral, religious perception; in the unalienable rights which belong to Christendom in general, and in the authority which God himself has given to the authorities of the world or of the State, in the independency over her own affairs, and in the responsibilities which he has laid upon a Christian government, regarding all moral and religious dangers and wants. Here again, and surely most honestly, does he protest against the impression that he intended to arouse public rebellion; his intention is only to prepare the way for a free council. But neither is he any longer alarmed by the thought of public conflicts and tumults, if the adherents of Rome or antichrist should resist the authorities upon whom he had called for assistance. He did not consider himself as being intended for a reformer, whilst he felt himself impelled to such decided steps, but was perfectly content thus to be the forerunner of some mightier man, and in this connection thought of Melanchthon. Hence he now addressed Lange in this peculiar way: "Perhaps I am only the forerunner of Philippus, that I may prepare the way for him in spirit and power, even as Elijah destroyed Ahab's men." (1 Kings xviii.) Melanchthon addressed the same friend about the same time concerning Luther, that he did not dare to resist the spirit of his Martinus in this matter, for which he seemed to be destined by Providence.

From the Electoral Court Luther heard that his publication was "not entirely disliked." It was at this time that he was obligated again to his sovereign for a present of venison.

It was no doubt from the same source that he received the advice to apply directly to the Emperor for protection, whom he had so often desired to address in his writings, and who had arrived in Germany, so that he might not be condemned even without a hearing. He addressed him a letter composed in a careful and respectful manner. At the same time he published a brief "Request," in which he called attention to the fact, that he had asked for a respectful refutation for a long time, but in vain. Both productions were submitted to the examination and correction of

Spalatin (toward the end of August, not as is generally thought, already at the beginning of the year). Luther never received a reply to his letter to the Emperor, nor even any intimation how it had been received. The danger which threatened Luther, and in him the honor and welfare of his Order, troubled his companions and friends in that Order. This encouraged Miltitz to new endeavors. At a convention of the Augustine monks at Eisleben, he persuaded the brethren to request Luther once more to write to the pope, and to assure him most solemnly that he had never intended to attack his person. A committee, led by Staupitz and Link, waited upon him on the 4th or 5th of September, at Wittenberg, and received the assurance that he would comply with their wish. At the convention Staupitz, feeling no longer able to bear the heavy responsibilities and conflicts of the time, had resigned as vicar of the Order, and Link had become his successor. No doubt Luther saw him for the last time at Wittenberg. He withdrew into retirement at Salzburg, whose archbishop was a friend of his.

But Luther's own spirit would not suffer any impediment in further attacking Rome. "He had yet a ditty" to sing concerning it. In fact, he was already busy with a new work in August, whilst also the rumor began to spread that Eck was coming with the bull, and at once began its publication. It was to treat of the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church," dealing with the sacraments. Luther felt that with this he would cut deeper into the ecclesiastical, theological and religious principles which were concerned in his battle with Rome, than he had done with all the demands of reform in his address to the nobility. For as the church taught, so he also recognized in the sacraments, instituted by Christ, the most sacred religious acts, by which salvation, *i. e.*, pardon, mercy, and strength were to be communicated from above; but in popery he saw them limited by mere human arbitrariness in their original life-giving energy, robbed of their true meaning, and made the tool of popish and priestly sway, and alongside with them certain so-called sacraments, which the Master had not instituted. He therefore laments the tyranny to which they, and with them the church, are now exposed, and the bondage which they are suffering. In this matter the hierarchy united with all the patrons of scholastic learning, stood opposed to him. He knew that this of which he spoke now would appear

to these opponents altogether remarkable; he himself says, that he desired to place his weak calumniators in a state of torpidity. But in this matter he also, clad in the armor of profound learning, with clear and sharply-defined scientific arguments encountered them. At the same time, wherever his language touched the real meaning of those institutions, it manifested a clearness and religious ardor easily understood by the laity.

According to Luther's opinion, the sacrament of the altar was held in the most abject captivity, inasmuch as the Lord's Supper was administered to the laity in a mutilated form by refusing them the cup: inasmuch as the doctrine of transubstantiation of the bread had been discovered by their sophistry, and last, but not least, inasmuch as they, by having changed the institution of Christ, in which he desires to feed us, into a sacrifice which the priest offers to God. The withholding of the cup Luther now declares to be an ungodly and tyrannical measure, which neither popes nor council were authorized to proclaim. But a short time previous to this he had published a German sermon against the sacrifice of the mass. He knew well enough that in this he was striving at a total change of the entire usual mode of divine worship in its very centre, and was attacking a custom, with which were intimately connected a number of other abuses of much import to the hierarchy. But he does not hesitate, because the word of God obliges him thus to act. In opposition to this mass he places the truly Christian one, which with him rests entirely upon those words of the institution of Christ: "Take, eat, etc." Christ's meaning here is: "Behold, poor sinner, it is out of pure love that I promise to you forgiveness of your sins and eternal life before you can either earn or promise anything, and in order that you may have no doubt concerning it, I give my body and shed my blood, thus giving the assurance of this promise, and as a proof leave you my body and my blood. For a proper observance of such a mass (or communion service,) he deems only faith, which trusts these promises without doubt, necessary; then the heart would experience the sweetest emotion, would open itself in love, would feel completely drawn toward this merciful Christ, and thus a new man would be born in him. Baptism, Luther says, at least no longer maintains its full meaning and import, which was intended to influence our entire life. Whilst the person baptized receives an assurance of mercy from God, which

may and shall encourage him even in the sins of his later life, it is now taught that the Christian by having sinned after his baptism becomes like a shipwrecked person, who instead of being on the ship has now hardly the use of a plank : so that now he must have recourse to the sacrament of penance with its exercises and performance as taught by the church. Whilst at his baptism he has consecrated himself and his entire life unto God, he is now exhorted to special and self-fabricated vows. Whilst he has become a partaker of Christian liberty, he is now burdened down with these human church ordinances.

Regarding the sacrament of penance joined with confession, absolution, etc., Luther holds in high esteem the declaration of pardon, which is given to the individual, and also the voluntary confession which the troubled Christian makes to the Christian brother. But they have changed the confession into a compulsory institution and into a torture ; the troubled souls, instead of being directed to trust to the mercy of God, are pointed to self-inflicted exercises and bodily mortifications with which they themselves shall give satisfaction to God ; and from these abuses the domineering and insatiable greedy spirit of the Roman chair derives its gain.

In all these different respects Luther desires to redeem the sacraments from this bondage and for the free benefit of Christians. And with no less force does he insist upon it that the outward form of the ceremony, the act of the officiating priest and the formal participation of the recipient, are not sufficient of themselves to secure the promised grace and salvation, but that rather hearty faith in the divine promise is the most important part ; yea, that whosoever believeth, receives, though the outward form of the sacrament be denied to him.

The Church of the Middle Ages had instituted four additional sacraments : confirmation, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction. But Luther will no longer acknowledge any of them as a sacrament. For marriage is not an institution which has the characteristics of a New Testament sacrament, for it has no special promise of grace, but it is rather a sacred moral institution of human life in general, which has existed even from the beginning of the human race, not only among Christians, but also among those who are not Christians. At the same time he protests against the human laws which the Romish church has seen

fit to establish concerning this institution, especially her arbitrary obstacles against marriage; even these are again used as a source of mercenary benefit through the granting of dispensations from these rules. The other three sacraments also lack any special promise. By the anointing of the sick with oil, of which St. James speaks in his Epistle v. 14; was meant not an extreme unction of the dying, but rather an exercise of the miraculous gift of the apostles to restore the sick through the power of faith and prayer. Concerning ordination he repeats those passages from his address to the Nobles: ordination ought to have no further significance than that the special service of preaching the word be conferred upon an individual by the congregation, which consists entirely of priests; the laying on of hands at ordination, is a custom instituted by man, and not by the Lord. Of course, says Luther, the miserable tyranny of the clergy strives to exalt itself by their priestly human anointings, tonsure and vestments, high above other Christians, who have been anointed with the Spirit. These in the estimation of the hierarchy shall hardly deserve to be counted with the church, and should be regarded almost as unworthy as dogs. Most earnestly does he protest that no one should aspire to that ordination, who has not really consecrated himself to the service of the gospel, and who has not renounced the idea of becoming through his ordination something better than a lay-Christian.

In conclusion Luther declares, that he has heard that papal excommunication was threatened him in order to force him to recant. In such case this little book should form a part of his recantation; soon the other should follow, the like of which the Roman chair had never seen nor heard.

At the beginning of October, probably the 6th, the book was published. About ten days previously, Luther had received certain information that Eck had really arrived with the papal bull. Eck had it placarded at Meissen already on September 21st. During the first days of October he transmitted a copy to the University of Wittenberg.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND LUTHER'S REPLY.

THE BULL, which only now made its appearance in Germany, had indeed been issued in Rome as early as June 16th. When under the above mentioned influences it was finally determined to issue it, it was most carefully considered by the papal consistory. The jurists indeed thought that Luther should be summoned once more, but did not succeed in carrying their point. Not the least attention was paid to that which was agreed upon by the papal ambassador, Miltitz, concerning an examination of Luther before the Archbishop of Trier.

The bull begins: "Arise, O Lord, and judge thy cause!" It furthermore calls upon St. Peter, St. Paul, the congregation of the saints, and the entire Church. "For a boar has forced his way into the vineyard of the Lord, a wild beast endeavors to despoil it," etc. The pope then, as he asserts, laments heresy, the matter concerned, all the more, because he had always cherished next to his heart the Germans among whom this heresy had broken out; he also reminds them that they are indebted to the Romish Church for their empire. Then forty-one sentences out of Luther's publications are rejected and condemned, because they are heretical, or at least offensive and misleading, and the sentence is passed upon all the publications of Luther, that they be publicly burned. Concerning Luther himself, the pope calls upon God as his witness, that he has left no means of paternal love untried to bring him back upon the right path. Even now in opposing him he would once more, after the pattern of divine mercy, which does not seek the death of the sinner, but rather that he should turn and live—he would once more urge him to return, and in such case would graciously receive him even as the prodigal son. Sixty days for consideration should be granted unto him; but if he and his adherents would not repent, they should be looked upon as stubborn heretics and withered branches of the living vine, Jesus Christ, and should be punished according to their just desert. Beyond a doubt this meant the

punishment of being burnt alive, since the bull specially condemned that sentence of Luther, which protested against the burning of heretics.

In Rome this was called, as indeed it was repeated but lately from the same quarters—"more the tenor of paternal commiseration, than of punitive severity." The agency through which the bull was carried through the conclave, was apparent from the fact that Eck himself was entrusted with the distribution of it in Germany, and its publication especially in Saxony. In addition to this he received the unprecedented authority to mention by name at its publication any of the adherents of Luther, according to his own pleasure. Thus Eck had the bull placarded as early as September at Meissen, Merseburg and Brandenburg. He had also even now received authority by a papal writ, that in case Luther should not submit, to call upon the temporal powers to punish the heretic. In Leipsic, however, where the magistrates were forced by the command of Duke George to do Eck honor by presenting him with a cup filled with money, he was so jostled in the streets by those of a different opinion, that he fled to the cloister of St. Paul, from whence he soon departed by night, whilst the beadles of the town carried the bull to the surrounding country. It was here also, as Miltitz relates, that a number of Wittenberg students appeared "who made themselves very disagreeable to Eck." In Wittenberg, where the publication of the bull was the business of the University, a report was made by the same to the Elector, in which doubts concerning its publication were expressed, especially since Eck, who had transmitted it, had not even given sufficient proof concerning his own legitimate authority. Luther, as he writes to Spalatin, now begins to feel quite free, since he finally has received the assurance that the papal chair is the seat of Satan. It does not discourage him that at the same time Erasmus sends a communication to Wittenberg from the Netherlands, that it was useless to build any hopes upon the Emperor Charles, because he had fallen into the hands of the mendicant friars. For the present, however, he would occupy toward the bull the attitude of doubt, as though, with its unheard of contents, it were the work of a forger.

The promise, which he had a few weeks previous, at the urgency of Miltitz, given to his brother friars, still remained undischarged. Even now Miltitz was unwilling to drop the web which by his

efforts he had succeeded in spinning, and even now, with the acquiescence and by the desire of the Elector, a meeting between himself and Luther was arranged to take place at the castle of Lichtenberg (now Lichtenburg in the circuit of Torgau), in the rooms of the monks of St. Anthony. As Miltitz had considered himself able to avert the bull by a letter from Luther to the pope, he now pledged himself to the Elector to bring the pope to a different view finally by such a letter. The only condition was that the letter should be antedated to the time of the publishing of the bull, when Luther had already consented. The contents should be according to the former agreement: in it, Luther should—as Miltitz called it—“praise the pope personally in a conciliatory manner,” and at the same time present to him an historical representation of his conduct thus far. Luther agreed to publish such a letter in the Latin and German languages, to be dated September 6th, and at once carried out his promise.

It is hard to be understood how Miltitz could still entertain any such hope. Neither his desire to earn for himself thanks and reward from the Elector Frederick, and the desire to frustrate the plans of Eck, who was detestable to him also, nor his vanity, nor his sanguine temperament, is sufficient explanation. He must, in his previous personal transactions with the pope and the papal court, have received such impressions, according to which Leo himself did not look upon the questions and quarrels of the church in so serious a manner as not to remain open to the manifold impressions and considerations, in consequence of which the different parties and influential individuals were trying to outrun each other. He must have been poorly acquainted with the real condition of affairs in Rome at that time. In Luther's affair no wavering was manifested there now. In what sense Luther himself intended to comply with the demand made upon him, the contents of his letter clearly prove. Nothing can be plainer than that it was not his intention to pacify the angry pope by artifice, or suppression of facts. The assurance, demanded of him, that he had no intention to attack the pope personally, he takes altogether in a literal sense, irrespective of Leo's official character and actions; for of a truth, he had never uttered anything regarding his personal character and conduct. But at the same time he embraces the opportunity of standing up against him as it becomes the Christian toward the Christian, to repeat to his face the severest

reproaches which he had hitherto uttered against the Romish chair, excusing Leo's behavior only in that he looks upon him as a victim of the terrible wickedness predominating around him, and of which he once more, with brotherly affection, warns him. To his face he says, even he, the holy father himself, must confess, that that chair was in a more degraded condition than ever Sodom, Gomorrah, or Babylon had been; that the wrath of God had fallen upon it without ceasing; Rome had once been a gate of heaven, but now was an open abyss to hell. Especially does he warn Leo against those flatterers, those "ear-pipers," who would make him to be a God-man. He assures the pope of his personal good wishes, and hence prays that he may not be devoured by that abyss of hell, but rather delivered of that sinful honor and placed in a position where he might be able to live from the revenue of some prebend, or of his paternal inheritance. The historical, retrospective view, which Luther, according to Miltitz's desire, inserted briefly, declares, as far as he wishes to say anything in his own defence, that not by his own fault, but rather by the fault of his opponents who continually forced him further and further, "not a small portion of the Romish unchristian-like conduct had been brought to daylight."

Luther, however, published with this letter a small book, entitled: "Concerning the Liberty of a Christian." It is not a polemic treatise prepared for the great battle of the churchmen and theologians, but a tract to aid "the simple minded." For them Luther desired to comprise therein "the sum total of a Christian life;" he would like, for their sakes, to treat this matter most thoroughly: "what really constitutes a Christian, and what is the liberty which Christ has gained for him and given to him."

Here he first declares that a Christian man is a free master over all things, and subject to no one. The new, inner, spiritual man he examines here first, and inquires what is really necessary to constitute a free and pious Christian. No outward form, he says, can make him pious or free. It is no benefit to the soul to cover the body with holy garments, or to fast or to pray with the lips. For the soul there is nothing in heaven or upon the earth which can give it life, make it godly and free, save the holy Gospel, *i. e.*, the comforting word of God concerning his dear son Jesus Christ, through whom our sins shall be forgiven. In this word it will find fullness of joy, and peace and light and an

abundance of all that is good. And to gain and possess these treasures, nothing further is required from the soul, than that it by a sincere faith yield itself to and cheerfully trust in Jesus. At first the law of God will of a truth cause anxiety to man, since it must either be obeyed or man be damned; but after he has thus been annihilated in his own estimation, then comes God's promise and gospel and says: Believe in Christ, through whom I assure you of all grace if you believe, you shall receive. A true faith will then unite the soul with the word of God in such manner, that its virtues will also become the soul's, even as iron becomes red hot by its contact with fire. And the soul will thus also become united, to Christ even as the bride with the bridegroom; her wedding-ring is the faith. What Christ, the rich and noble bridegroom has, he will give to it; what it has, he will appropriate to himself; he takes its sins upon himself that they may be swallowed up by him and his righteousness. Thus the Christian becomes exalted above all things, and a master; nothing can be detrimental to his salvation, all things must be subject to him and aid in his salvation; it is a spiritual kingdom. And hence Christians are priests, they are privileged through Christ to appear before God and make intercession for others. "Who can measure the honor and rank of a Christian? Through his kingdom he is master of all things; by his priesthood he has power with God, for God will do whatever he begs and desires." The Christian, however, Luther continues in the second part, does not consist merely of this new inner man. He has still another will in his body, which is striving to captivate him in sin. Therefore he dare not be idle, but must constantly be on the alert to expel the evil inclinations and to restrain his body. Furthermore, he is living among other men upon earth, and has to deal with them. And now as Christ, who being in himself full of divine riches, made himself of no reputation and took upon him the form of a servant for our sakes; likewise shall we Christians, whom God through Christ has given the fullness of all godliness and salvation, and with that full satisfaction readily and cheerfully also do toward this heavenly father, what is pleasing to him, and be to our neighbor what Christ has become for us. Least of all dare we despise the weakness and imperfect faith of our neighbor; we dare not give him offence by the use of our liberty, but rather in all things serve him for his own advancement. Thus the Chris-

tian, who is a free master, becomes a ministering servant of all things and subject to everybody. He however never performs these services, in order to become pious before God and so secure his salvation, for he feels already satisfied and blessed through his faith, and does all these things without any consideration of reward. In conclusion Luther recapitulates: "A Christian does not live in himself, but in Christ and his neighbor; in Christ through faith, and in his neighbor through love. By means of faith he ascends far above himself into the divine; out of the divine he by love descends again out of the divine far below himself, and yet always remains in God and divine love."

To the remarkable letter of Luther addressed to the pope, this little pamphlet was a remarkable appendix. Luther himself wrote to the pope concerning it: His holiness might conclude from the tenor of it, with what occupation he preferred to be engaged and with which he could deal more advantageously, if only the godless papal flatterers would not hinder him. In fact, the pope could perceive from this, how Luther in his innermost heart lived and moved in these most profound, and at the same time, most simple ideas of Christian truth, and that it was to him both an impulse and a pleasure to publish them in noble simplicity. The little pamphlet showed furthermore, in its perfectly composed and gentle execution, what deep tranquility possessed his soul notwithstanding his fierce battling, and what happiness this man, just now struck by the thunder of papal excommunication, nevertheless enjoyed in God. Thus we perceive it ranking by the side of the writings immediately preceding it addressed to the nobility, and that of the Babylonian Captivity, as one of the principal reformatory writings of Luther.

That Luther, in writing thus to the pope in compliance with the wish of Miltitz, had no thought of making peace with the papacy or even ceasing for a moment the battle against it, the contents of the writing make plainly evident. His conduct toward the bull was at first of that character, even as he had before announced to Spalatin; he issued a pamphlet against it, "Concerning the new bulls and falsehoods of Eck," in which he treated it as a work of Eck. Immediately after this, however, he went one step further in a German and Latin publication "against the bull of Antichrist." In it he proposes to expose the blindness and wickedness of the Romish blasphemers. He

noticed in the bull partly a misrepresentation of his real doctrine, partly in its doctrine a gross perversion, and a condemnation of the Christian, biblical truth. He declared that if the pope did not recant and condemn this bull, no one would hesitate to believe him to be the enemy of God and the disturber of Christendom. At the same time, on the 17th of November, he solemnly repeated, what two years before he had addressed to a council. But how changed his position has become since that time! He the accused and condemned, now himself pronounces damnation and ruin upon the hostile, anti-Christian power, which desires to rule the world. Not from a future council, nor from a council after the manner of ecclesiastical conventions hitherto held, does he hope for and ask protection for himself and Christian truth; but again and again he calls upon the Christian laity to arise in its defence. Thus in the appeal which he now published, he solicited the emperor Charles, the Electors and Princes, the Counts, Barons and Nobles, the municipal aldermen and whatever there might be of Christian authority in all Germany, to adhere to him and to his appeal, in order that the true Christian faith and the liberty of a council may be saved. In a similar manner in his Latin publication against the bull, did he call upon the emperor Charles, the Christian kings and princes, and all confessors of Christ, together with the Christian bishops and doctors, to arise against the outrages of the pope. In the German publication, he protests against the accusation that he was inciting the laity against the pope and the priests; he inquires, however, whether by commanding the truth to be burned, the laity would become reconciled and the pope justified. The pope himself, he says, and his bishops, priests and monks, are struggling for their own downfall through this calumnious bull, and aim at bringing upon themselves the wrath of the laity. "Would it be surprising now if princes, nobility and laity would knock them upon their heads, and drive them out of the country?"

Alongside of him Hutten boisterously insisted upon a general uprising of Germany against the Romish tyranny, whose servants and envoys should also be expelled by sheer force. Yea, when at that time two papal legates, Aleander and Caraccioli, made their appearance on the Rhine to carry out the demands of the bull and personally influence the emperor, he was ready to make an attack upon them upon his own responsibility, though after

quiet consideration it could hardly be understood what would have been gained by it. And Luther in writing to Spalatin could not restrain the remark: "If he had but caught them!"

In the meantime, Luther constantly repeated to himself and his friends the warning: "Put not your trust in princes nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help." (Ps. cxlvi. 3.) Yes, when Spalatin, who, in company with the Elector, was traveling to the king, assured him that little was to be hoped for there, he expressed to him his joy, that he too now should learn that God would never have had entrusted the spread of the gospel to fishermen if it was intended to extend it through worldly kingdoms. Luther also said, he hardly expected the fall of antichrist before the last day. With the idea that antichrist has long since been present in Rome, now the other is connected with it, that the former (the last day) is already near at hand. He writes to Spalatin, that he is firmly convinced of this by many strong proofs.

In fact, the emperor, before he had left the Netherlands on the way to his coronation at Aix la Chapelle, was instigated by Aleander to take a decisive step against Luther; he gave his royal approbation that the condemnation of Luther's books by the bull should be fulfilled, and himself issued the order that within the limits of his hereditary dominion and the Netherlands, they should be burned. They were publicly burned in Lyons, Cologne, and Maintz. It occurred in Cologne whilst he was there personally. In this city the two legates appeared before the Elector Frederick and requested to have the same act performed in his territory, and to execute the punishment himself upon the heretic, or at least to hold him prisoner, or immediately to send him to the pope. Their proposition was rejected by Frederick, because Luther would have to receive a hearing first before impartial judges. Erasmus also expressed himself as favorable to this view, after the elector had requested his opinion through Spalatin. At this time he verbally uttered the sentiments to the prince: "Luther had committed two sins; he had attacked the crown of the pope and the stomachs of the monks." The pope issued a stringent order to Cardinal Albert to keep a watchful eye also upon Hutten, and to check any extravagant demonstrations on his part. The burning of the books progressed unhindered in Maintz, although Hutten could inform Luther that, according to a report from friends, Aleander had almost been stoned there,

and that the people in general had become heartily aroused in favor of the cause of Luther. The legates continued to carry out their orders in triumph. Luther, however, immediately followed up this execution of the bull with his reply.

On the 10th of December he announced through public posters that on the morrow at 9 o'clock, the anti-Christian decretals, that is the papal books of law, should be burned, and invited to this all the students of the university at Wittenberg. He chose for this occasion a place in front of the "Elsterthor," in the eastern part of the city, near the Augustine cloister. A large procession thronged to that place. There appeared with Luther a number of other doctors and masters, especially also Melanchthon and Carlstadt. After one of the masters had built a funeral pile, Luther laid the decretals upon it and the former set fire to it. Then Luther also threw the papal bull into the flames, exclaiming: "Because thou hast vexed the holy One of God, the eternal fire devour thee." Luther returned to the city with the other teachers, but there remained several hundred students at the scene and sang a *Te-Deum* and dirges for the decretals. After the morning meal, which was wont to be partaken of at 10 o'clock, some young, fantastically dressed academicians drove through the streets in a large wagon with a flag, to which was attached a bull four yards long. They blew a long earthen trumpet and played many other boyish pranks. They loaded the wagon with a lot of scholastic and popish writings, especially also writings of Eck, which were brought from all directions. This load they brought with the bull to the funeral pile, which others in the meantime had kept up. There again a *Te-Deum* was sung, a requiem, the hymn "O thou poor Judas," etc. With great earnestness and intense emotion, Luther on the following day explained to his class what he had done the day before, and said that "the papal chair itself must yet be burned, if they do not from their whole heart renounce the kingdom of the pope, they cannot secure salvation." Soon afterward he gave a full account of his act in a short pamphlet entitled, "Why the books of the pope and his followers were burned by Doctor Martin Luther." "I," said he, "Martin Luther, called Doctor of the Holy Scripture, Augustinian at Wittenberg, make known to every one, that by my consent, counsel and aid, were burned on Monday after St. Nicolai, in the year 1520, the books of the pope of Rome, and of several of his



LUTHER BURNS THE PAPAL BULL.

followers. If any one is astonished at the fact, as I can easily conceive, and will ask for what reason and by what command I have done this, let him be answered by this: 'Luther feels himself in duty bound, as a baptized Christian, to perform this act, as accredited doctor of the holy scriptures, and a daily preacher to whom it is befitting on account of his office to exterminate unchristian teaching. The example of others who are under similar obligations, and nevertheless do not desire to do so, dare not prevent him.' "I," says he, "could not excuse myself, if my conscience were not sufficiently informed and my spirit sufficiently encouraged and aroused by the grace of God." He then selects from these decretals thirty false doctrines for the glorification of papacy, which therefore are rightly to be burned. And the sum and substance of the contents of these books are this: "The pope is a god on earth, superior to all celestial, terrestrial, spiritual and worldly divinities, and everything is his own; for no one dare say, 'What doest thou?' This is the abomination of desolation (Matt. xxiv. 15); this (the latter) the Antichrist, according to 2 Thess. ii. 4."

At the same time, in a longer and more definite publication, he gave the ground and reason for all of his own articles which were condemned by the bull. Here he supports himself upon the word of God, against the positions of the earthly god—upon the revelation of God, which also illuminates internally every one who submissively yields to its influence, and which manifests itself to him in a clear conception of its meaning: even if he himself be but a man of inferior rank, as they cast up to him, yet he is certain that his cause is in accordance with the word of God. To Staupitz, who, in regard to the bull felt himself weak and faint-hearted, he wrote: "That he had, when he burnt it, at first trembled and prayed; however, now he is more pleased with it than with any other act of his whole life." Now, finally, he also freed himself from all coercion of the cloister regulations, by which, as we have noticed above, he had still been annoyed in the discharge of his higher professional duties. He has become, he writes to his friend Lange, separated from the order and the laws of the pope, through the authority of the bull, and excommunicated; of this he is glad, he is no longer a monk, excepting in attire and residence. Of practical duties he has more than sufficient with the daily lectures and sermons, with constant, instructive, edify-

ing, and controversial book-making, with letters, discourses, rendering services to his brethren, etc.

Of his completed separation from the papal church, which for centuries had ruled Christianity, and with which Christendom itself had become identified, Luther by the above act gave the clearest evidence. The report of this act had the effect of fully fanning the fire which his word had kindled throughout all Germany. He sees now, as he wrote to Staupitz, a storm raging which only dooms-day will be able to quell, to such an extent are the minds of men on both sides agitated. True, at that time Germany was in an excitement and tension as in no other period of her history. Hutten now appeared preëminent above the rest in the strife against Rome, in alliance with Luther. He published the bull, accompanied with severe criticisms. He worked zealously against the burning of the pious writings of Luther, in Latin and German poems. Eberlin von Gunzburg designated these two men as the chosen messengers of God. He shortly afterward began his activity as a popular author on the side of reform. A litany for the Germans, which appeared in 1521, implored divine grace and aid in behalf of Martin Luther, the immovable pillar of the Christian faith, and of the valiant German knight, Ulrich Hutten, the Pylades of Martin Luther. Hutten now began to write German for the German people, in prose and verse. To his friend, Sickingen, with whom he spent the winter at Eberburg, he read the writings of Luther, which resulted in securing the hearty sympathy of the brave warrior for the doctrines of the reformation, and led him to conceive plans of action which it required a strong arm to execute. Anonymous and pseudonymous fugitive sheets were circulated in increasing numbers among the people. They especially took the forms of dialogues, by which the laity, in simple Christian ideas and comprehensible language, were instructed in the suffering condition of Christianity. The external evils were placed before the eyes of the people—the scandals of the clergy and the cloister, the conduct of the Roman courtiers, that is, the subjects at the papal court who performed the most menial services for the exalted dignitaries at the court, in order to be compensated with German benefices, and the extravagant expenses, the extortions, etc., etc. These fugitive writings declared that the simple word of God shall be freed from human fallacy with which it is enveloped, and be made accessible

to all. Luther is represented as the chief champion of the blessed cause, and as the true man of the people, whose testimony so mightily moves the hearts of men. His likeness, painted by Cranach, was circulated with his smaller writings. In later editions there appears the Holy Spirit in shape of a dove hovering above his head. Antagonists have calumniated him on this account, and charged that this representation was a device of his own.

Satirical pictures, too, were made use of in the strife on both sides. Cranach depicted the lowly suffering Christ and the haughty Roman Antichrist, in twenty-six wood-cuts of his "Passional Christ and Antichrist," opposite to one another, for which Luther furnished short texts. The adversaries of Luther now also began to write German for the benefit of the people. The most gifted among them was, as far as stern popular German and crude satire are concerned, the Franciscan Thomas Murner; his theology, however, appeared to be so feeble to Luther, that he condescended to honor him only once with a notice. He entered upon a more prolonged combat with the theologian Emser, of Dresden, who had after the Leipsic disputation already provoked Luther to a controversy, and who now published a book "Against the unchristian book of M. Luther to the German nobility." To this Luther replied: "To the He-goat of Leipsic." Emser: "To the Ox of Wittenberg." Then Luther: "On the answer of the He-goat of Leipsic." Then Emser: "On the insane reply of the Ox of Wittenberg." Luther, who had already addressed his writing: "On the He-goat, etc.," against the first sheets of that book of Emser, then replied to the book when it was completely published, with an "Answer to the most Christian, most spiritual, most refined book of the He-goat Emser." Upon this, Emser followed with a rebutter, and Luther a small writing "A contradiction of Dr. Luther's error, forced upon him by the most learned priest of God, Mr. H. Emser." When afterward, during his sojourn at the Wartburg, Emser continued with a reply, Luther allowed him to have the last word. Nothing new was brought forth for the great struggle by these writings. The most efficacious argument which Emser and the other champions of the old church system produced, was the constant pretext that one man, Luther, dares to contradict the whole Christian world, and that through the

overthrow of all church foundations and authorities, he would create unbelief, confusion and insurrection in church and state. Thus Emser once in German verse said: "Luther disregards the teaching of the church and of the fathers, as if he were the only teacher." In regard to the alarming results which might be expected, he constantly held up the Bohemians as the bug-bear.

Emser laments that "in the German nation such contention, noise and uproar every where prevail, that there is no territory, no city, no village or house wherein there do not exist factious and mutual opposition." Aleander reported to Rome that animosity and excitement raged everywhere, and the papal ban was ridiculed. Wonderful, fearful reports were heard among the adherents of the ancient order of things; a letter written shortly after the burning of the bull claimed to know that Luther was calculating upon thirty-five thousand Bohemians and as many Saxons and others of north Germany, who, like the old Goths and Vandals, were ready to march against Italy and Rome. However, it was easy to perceive also that there was a long interval between enmity and angry words, and energetic and self-sacrificing action. Ventures were now also made in central Germany to put into execution the bull concerning Luther's books, without any disturbance ensuing, so for instance, in those bishoprics lying near to Wittenberg, Meissen and Meiseburg. The esteemed Pirkheimer and the energetic Spengler in Nürnberg, whose names Eck had mentioned in the bull, now submitted to the papal authority, which was represented by this their personal enemy

Hutten, whose hopes were sadly disappointed in the brother of the Emperor, and who also believed that his life and liberty were endangered by a papal decree, glowed with a burning desire to strike. He also wished to ascertain whether a daring enterprise conceived by him would meet with any support from the Elector Frederick. He even ventured, when he spoke of Sickingen's lofty designs, to refer to the event of the powerful Hussite General Ziska, who had once been the terror and abomination of the Germans. The knight also aimed at winning over the cities for a conflict against Rome and for liberty. However enthusiastic his language seemed, nevertheless it was doubtful what really was to be understood by this proposed assault in the present state of affairs. Sickingen took a more practical view of the situation.

advised him to suppress his impatience, and sought on his part to remain in good understanding with the emperor, which again encouraged the hopes of Hutten. Both overestimated the influence which Sickingen could exert on the emperor. In this state of affairs, however, Luther only came more positively to the conclusion that the further prosecution of this work must be guided by the counsel and hand of God, and not by human device. Hutten himself remarked to him in a letter during the Imperial Diet at Worms: "I will war bravely with you for Christ, in this, however our measures differ; mine are human, whilst yours, the more complete, are divine." And when Hutten really was about to take up arms, Luther then declared to him and to others most emphatically: "I do not wish that we should contend for the gospel with force and slaughter; the world was conquered by the Word, by the Word the church was sustained, by the Word will the church again be established; yes, the anti-christ, as he began without human force, so will he also be crushed again without human force by the Word." He also dissuaded from the exercise of any violence against the German clergy in the papal church, such as had been committed in Bohemia. He said he had not urged the German nobility to draw their swords in defense of the truth and the maintenance of public order, but advised peaceful and lawful measures in checking all disorder.

Concerning that well-founded expectation of an approaching end of the world of which we hear him speak in a letter to Spalatín (of the 16th January, 1521,) he had at that time fully explained himself in a book in which he replied to a writing of the Roman theologian Ambrosius Catharinus, directed against him.

Luther has, as we shall see, clung throughout his life, to this expectation of an approaching dissolution of all things. As already to his glowing imagination, the greatest contrasts were presented, so also was this certain victory over popery and error apparent to him. Sure of this result, he continued on his course without calculating the next steps, or wishing to determine them in advance. In his hope of the approaching conclusion of the earthly history of Christianity and humanity upon earth, he regards himself as the instrument of introducing a new chapter into the history of the great events of the world. A period of one hundred and twenty days was allowed Luther in which he might send a report of his recantation to Rome, to which the bull had

so earnestly admonished him. Luther had replied. The pope declared the time of respite as closed on the 3d of January. Leo in a new bull pronounced the ban against Luther and his followers to be forever valid, and laid an interdict upon those places where they should sojourn.

CHAPTER IX.

THE IMPERIAL DIET AT WORMS.

WHEN we consider the elements and powers which at that time had such overpowering influence on the ecclesiastical movement of Germany, we might cherish the hope that they by the power of the divine word and without the apprehended bloody conflicts and political revolutions would gradually accomplish the designs of the Reformation. Germany would need only the experience, the "spiritual storm, tumult and uproar," which Luther saw at that time already had broken out, and with the newly acquired religious convictions would burst asunder the mediæval forms and spiritual bonds of the Roman church. Indeed in the short time since Luther had begun the conflict, and had gradually made progressive steps, there was attained a success which no one had been able to anticipate or dare to hope. The venerated Nestor among the great German princes of the empire, Frederick the Wise, had manifestly already shaken off these bonds, even if he did not yet feel himself called to take a decided stand externally. His demeanor could not fail to make an impression on those around him. The nobility and the citizens among whom the word of the Reformation had already begun to burn most brightly, were strongly represented in Imperial Diets by the government of Germany. The most distinguished among the clergy, the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mainz, who on account of Luther's attack against Indulgence might have felt himself most injured, had until now taken a peculiar, cautious and passive attitude which left open to him a future connection with any national uprising against his papal master at Rome. Those old ecclesiastical grievances of Imperial Diets had been until now brought forward without any alarm for the wrath and reproaches of the pope.

As soon as the conviction became prevalent that the claims of the Roman chair do not rest upon eternal, divine laws, then the Imperial Diet could immediately take in its own hand the ecclesiastical reformation. Luther showed in general, and especially

in his address to the nobility, that it was not his desire to abolish the episcopal office, if the bishops only knew how to feed their flocks according to the Word of God. An independent German episcopacy might then have also undertaken the necessary improvement in divine worship. Luther himself, as we shall see afterwards, desired only as few external changes in it as possible.

In isolated German countries, which afterward became Protestant, the reform was brought about really without any fearful commotions, by means of the princes in a combined effort with their states, and in the free cities by means of the authority and representation of the citizens collectively, although in these cases the minority could count upon the support of the majority in the empire, and of the emperor, who adhered to the papal church. Could not an evangelical reformation, which the civil authority itself in unison with the preponderating opinion of the whole nation had determined upon, be carried out more easily for this reason? Apprehensions were expressed that there might be a renewal of the wild, terrible conflicts of the Hussites. But no one could deny that Lutheran preaching was distinguished by distinctness, religious sobriety and solidity, and the absence of fanaticism, of which the Hussite sermons were destitute. And these tumultuous Hussite wars, the sad memory of which still exists among the Germans, were occasioned by the violence which the church summoned from abroad against the Bohemians. Rome could find no such auxiliaries against the German nation, should she shake off the Roman yoke.

We could even ask, if we chose to pursue the thought, whether Luther had sufficient ground at that time to expect the triumph of his cause, even from the present influence at work, or to expect it from the day of the Lord in the distant future?

In such important turning-points of history, the final decision never depends upon the character and demeanor of several individuals, although they may stand ever so high. Luther saw in that papal anti-christ formidable satanic powers, by which the minds of men are blinded, and which it is true would, amid suffering and calamity, overpower the Word of God for the present, which however it could not totally eradicate and destroy. And we Protestants must acknowledge not only that a large proportion of the German people remained superstitiously enthralled by the old traditions, but that also, in the estimation of honest and

independent enquirers, who still adhered to the old order of things, truly religious and moral interests might seem to be seriously threatened by the new doctrine and a rupture with the past. But never before did a crisis in the German nation and church depend more upon the decision and action of one man, than did the destiny of the nation at that time depend upon the newly-crowned emperor. Everything depended upon this—whether he would, as the head of the nation, take the great work in hand, or whether he would exercise his power and authority against it. Charles had been greeted in Germany as a noble young man, the descendant of an old German princely house, who appeared to be susceptible of sympathy for the regenerated life and activity of the times, who at the election for emperor had received more votes than the foreign king Francis, whilst the pope used his influence in behalf of the latter. Now it was reported that he was in the hands of the mendicant friars; the Franciscan friar Glapio, was his confessor and influential adviser—this is the man who had caused the beginning to be made of the burning of Luther's books.

He, the emperor, was however by no means as dependent on those surrounding him, nor these as dependent on Roman influences, as might be presumed. With an independent policy, his advisers pursued the interests of his dominions, and though a young man, he himself was able to maintain the character of an independent monarch and wise statesman.

He was, however, not a German, as his grandfather, Maximilian, was, and he had but an imperfect knowledge of the German language. He had been king of Spain and Naples before this; even when he was elevated to the imperial throne, he supported his royal prerogative in Spain most firmly. His religious training and education had made him acquainted only with the strictly ecclesiastical doctrines and obligations, without any knowledge of the newly-proposed ecclesiastical regulations. He felt himself conscientiously bound to observe what he had been taught. He never showed any inclination to place himself in opposition to the views of his German subjects, with independent opinions originated by himself. It was only the consideration of his sovereign power and imperial duties which guided his ecclesiastical position. In the Spanish church a certain reform was carried through at that time upon the strictly established foundation of

the mediæval church doctrines and hierarchical government; for instance, a more rigorous discipline exercised toward clergymen and monks, they were required to discharge their duties in giving religious instructions to the people more faithfully, and with them therefore by this means a more animated religious life was roused in those forms; furthermore, the crown also insisted upon certain rights over against the Romish court—an absolute royalty knew how to unite itself wisely with the papal absolutism. A severance of the German church from the papacy, however, was by this already made insupportable. The unity of the realms of Charles was inseparable from the unity of the Catholic church. In addition to this, the consideration of his foreign policy engaged his attention: vexed at the pope, who, in league with France, desired to prevent his election, yet instead of waging a threatened war with France, peace might be secured with the pope, and possibly even an alliance with him. At this time, also, the danger which threatened the papacy through the great German heresy, and against which it urgently needed the assistance of the worldly arms, could be made use of to influence the pope. Furthermore, in consideration of this, and on account of the urgency of the unity of the church, the policy of the emperor would never allow him to involve himself in anything for which his own power was not sufficient, and through which his reputation would be put in jeopardy, or blasted. And as much as the monarchical power in Spain was strengthened, so greatly did he find it checked and limited in Germany by the States of the empire, and the general relation of affairs. These are the points of view which moderated the conduct of Charles toward Luther and his cause. He was thus reluctantly drawn into the drama of the great ecclesiastical and worldly diplomacy, and in it he also had his own course to pursue.

Quickly enough was the imperial court made acquainted with the tenor of thought and public opinion in Germany. He now proceeded very cautiously, and did not turn an inattentive ear to certain propositions and suggestions, as little as in his words or actions he gave the friends of Luther any ground to hope for anything positively favorable. As Charles continued his tour further up the Rhine, to hold an imperial diet at Worms after New Year, Frederick the Wise urged his advisers, that Luther might at least yet have a hearing, before the emperor himself would take any steps against him.

The Elector received the reply that he might bring him along to Worms for this purpose, and that injustice should not be done him. The Elector nevertheless was not without suspicion. He may have thought of the danger to which a Huss had been exposed in Constance. Luther, however, to whom he made known the expectation of the Emperor through Spalatin, answered immediately: "If I am called, I shall come, as much as is of me, even if I must suffer myself to be led there sick; for we dare not doubt, that I am being called by the Lord, when the Emperor calls me. They will," says he, "probably employ force against me; however, that God lives yet who preserved the three men in the furnace at Babylon, and if God did not desire to preserve him, then his death would be of little consequence. We have to pray God only, that Emperor Charles may not begin his government with the spilling of innocent blood for the protection of ungodliness: much rather would he perish by the hands of the Romans alone. At an earlier time he had bethought himself of a place whither he could flee; if he could no longer be secure in Wittenberg, he could go to Bohemia if he had desired. However, he now took this positive stand 'I will not flee; much less recant!'" In the meantime there arose also scruples in the mind of the Emperor: whether Luther, who already was under the ban and interdict, should be allowed to be present even at the place of assembly of the States. Concerning the course to be pursued in relation to him in Worms, where the Imperial state met in January, there arose long, fluctuating and momentous deliberations between the Emperor, the states and the Legate Aleander.

A missive from the pope urged the Emperor to give force to the bull by which Luther was definitely condemned by an edict. In vain, the letter continued, would he (Charles) be girded by God with the sword of the highest earthly powers, if he did not use it as against infidels, and much more against still more abominable heretics. Among his counsellors the opinion nevertheless was general that he should not take any action in the affair without the consent of the States of the Empire. Aleander in a long discourse endeavored to secure their approval. He was well aware that an appeal to a council could not be entertained; but he cunningly did not suppress any thoughts tending to such an event, but on the other hand held forth more prominently the idea that Luther rejected the authority of councils, and in general

would not consent to be called to account by any one. On the other hand, the imperial confessor and diplomatist Glapio, addressed himself in most flattering expressions to Frederick's chancellor Brück, and declares that he also finds much that is good in Luther's writings; but that the contents of his books on the Babylonian captivity were positively shocking: now it only depends upon the recantation of such offensive writings to render that which is good in his books profitable to the church, that thus Luther might co-operate in a genuine ecclesiastical reform, which the emperor himself would sanction; he might be invited before learned, impartial men, at some convenient place, and subject himself to their judgment. By this cunning device, the appearance of Luther before the Emperor and the empire would have been happily set aside, and even if he would still not recant, his fate would be decided. We must leave undecided how far Glapio earnestly thought of the possibility of gaining him over by threats and appeals, that he might yet be made useful for a reform in the sense of the Spanish one spoken of, and that he might be employed as an instrument against a pope hostile to the Emperor. The Elector Frederick, however, desired to bear no responsibility whatever for this secret scheme. He would not even consent to hold an interview with Glapio on the subject, which he earnestly desired. The Emperor yielded so far to the persuasion of the pope that he proposed a mandate to the States, according to which Luther should be imprisoned and his protectors should be punished as guilty of treason. At that time the ambassador of Frankfort sent home the report, "that the monk is causing much trouble; some were in favor of crucifying him, and that he would scarcely escape it; however, that it was to be feared then, that he would arise again on the third day." After an excited debate of seven days' duration at the Imperial Diet, in which also the Elector Frederick took an especially active part, there was finally an answer to the proposition of the Emperor taken into consideration, wherein the States presented their views; what fruits or what benefit would ensue if the mandate alone were passed with all its severe requirements without having arraigned or given Luther a hearing, since among the common people all kinds of thoughts, fancies and desires have been awakened through Luther's preaching, teaching and writings. At the same time, it was however agreed that the hearing was to be limited to this

extent, that there should be no disputing with him, but he should only be asked: "Whether he intended to insist upon those writings published by him against our holy Christian faith, or not." If he should recant, he should then be heard on other points and cases, and that the whole affair should be disposed of with becoming dignity and propriety; if however, he should insist upon all or several of the articles which controvert the faith, then all the States of the Empire should abide by this the faith of the fathers without any further disputation, and aid in maintaining it, and the Emperor have this published throughout the land.

In accordance with this the Emperor issued a citation to Luther on the 6th of March, ordering him to appear at Worms, "to give information concerning his doctrines and books." He promised him a safe conduct to Worms. If he should not obey or recant, the States with the Emperor would unite in declaring that he should then be branded and treated as an open heretic.

In order, in their opinion, to secure an impartial and scriptural examination of the disputed articles in Worms, it was demanded of Luther first to deny them emphatically. Spalatin also designated the points upon which, according to Glapio's intimations, recantation must evidently be demanded. However, it was still a question, how many of those articles there should be, and what would be the extent of the "other points, which, if he should yield in the former, might still occasion the necessity of further deliberations." Glapio, as yet, had said not a word concerning the faith of the fathers on papal infallibility or on the unlimited power of the pope over the church in general and her councils, nor did even the papal legate dare to express himself on these subjects. For the more liberal principles of those men of the earlier reform Councils there remained space enough, if only Luther had not also controverted their soundness. The ecclesiastical abuses against which the States of the Empire had protested in opposition to the pope, even now became the subject of the most violent and universal complaints from all sides in Worms. The taxes of ecclesiastical prebends and fiefs remitted to Rome which was an affair entirely exterior, but nevertheless most important for the pope, absorbed immense sums of money, whilst the empire could with difficulty raise but small sums for the new organization of its government and courts of justice, and it even proposed to retain the amount of these exactions in spite of the

papal protests. Such faithful members of the old church as Duke George of Saxony, demanded a complete reformation of the clergy whose scandals occasioned the ruin of many souls, and demanded as the most efficient means for this end a general council. Alexander was obliged to report to Rome that everybody acquiesces in this desire, which was so abhorrent to the pope, and that the Germans insisted upon holding the council on their own territory.

Luther, however, was equally determined to do two things: to obey the summons, and to refuse a recantation, if he were not convinced of an error. The imperial summons was first presented to him on the 26th of March, through the herald of the empire, Kaspar Sturm. He also was ordered to accompany him to Worms. Within twenty days of its reception, Luther was to appear before the emperor, consequently at the latest to arrive at Worms on the 16th of April.

He had thus far continued his many-sided, unremitted activity without cessation, whilst he, to make use of his own expression, carried on the works of peace and of war at the same time, like Nehemiah, building with one hand and bearing the sword in the other. Energetically he carried on the controversy with Catharinus, mentioned above, to the end. At the same time he completed in March, the first part of that explanation of the church gospel which his Elector had desired him to prepare as a contribution to the peace and edification of the church. He dedicated it to his sovereign, and was now writing a very devout and practical explanation of the Magnificat of the virgin Mary (Luke i. verse 46), which he had intended for the prince, John Frederick, the son of Duke John, and nephew to Frederick, who was tenderly devoted to him. On the 31st of March he wrote a brief epistle to him, and sent him the first printed sheet of it, and on the 1st of April he sent to his friend, Link, the sequel of his book against Catharinus, which was also dedicated to him. "I know," he says, "and am certain that our Lord Jesus Christ still lives and reigns; upon this assurance I boast, that I will not fear yet many thousand popes, for He who is in us is greater than he who is in the world."

On the following day, the second of April, the Tuesday after Easter, he departed for Worms. His friend, Amsdorf, and the Pomeranian nobleman, Peter Swaven, at that time a student in Wittenberg, accompanied him; he also took with him John Pez-

ensteiner, as was required by the regulations of the Order. The magistrate of Wittenberg furnished wagon and horses.

The road led through Leipsic, through Thuringia from Naumburg to Eisenach, then south through Berka, Hersfeld, Grünberg, Friedberg, Frankfurt, Oppenheim. The herald rode in front, bearing the imperial coat-of-arms, and thus attracted attention to the man whose word had already so mightily agitated the minds of men everywhere, and in whose future bearing and destiny friend and foe were intensely interested. Everywhere the people gathered in crowds to see him personally.

His appearance in Erfurt, on the 6th of April, was greeted with joy. The great majority of the University students of that place was roused into enthusiasm for his cause. His friend, Crotus, on his return from Italy to Erfurt, had been elected rector. The bull had not been published by the University, and was thrown into the water by students. Justus Jonas displayed extraordinary zeal in the cause, even Erasmus, whom he so highly revered, was no longer able to restrain him. Lange and others officiated as preachers.

Jonas now hurried as far as Weimar to meet Luther approaching. Forty men of the University, the rector at the head, went forth on horseback, and with them a number of others on foot, to greet him at the limits of the municipal territory, whilst he too had a small retinue with him. Crotus expressed unbounded joy at seeing him, the fearless champion of the Faith, whereupon Luther replied, that he does not deserve such compliments, but that he thanked them for their esteem. The poet Eoban also spoke, as he said some "stammering words;" he afterward described the event in a number of Latin hymns.

On the following day (Sunday) Luther remained in Erfurt. There he delivered a sermon, which is preserved in the church of the Augustine cloister. From the words of the gospel of the day: "Peace be unto you" (John xx. verse 19), he spoke of that peace which we experience through the Saviour Christ, since we became justified by faith in him and in his work of redemption, without our own deeds and merits, of the liberty with which a Christian dare act in faith and love, and also how every man possessing this peace from God, must adapt his work that it be beneficial not to himself alone, but also to his neighbor. This he expressed in opposition to the doctrine of justification by works,

held by most of the preachers, and against the papal righteousness of the law; also against the wisdom of the heathen masters, such as Aristotle, Plato, etc., etc.

His present personal condition, and the perilous course he was about to take, gave him no concern, but the general obligations under which his position placed him, engaged his earnest solicitude, even though so many teachers entertained and inculcated different sentiments. "I will proclaim the truth, and must do it; for that reason I take this stand here, and I cannot be bought with money." During the sermon there was suddenly heard in the crowded church, before the door of which also many people stood, a crash on the overloaded gallery. Amid consternation the mass attempted to escape, Luther however exclaimed: "I already know your tricks, Satan!" and quieted the congregation, assuring them that there was no danger, but that the devil was only carrying on some of his wicked pranks.

Luther also preached in the Augustine cloister at Gotha, and Eisenach. In Gotha the people found it to be significant that the devil had torn loose several stones from the gable of the church after the sermon. At the inns Luther delighted to recreate himself with music, would even himself occasionally take up the lute. In Eisenach, however, he suffered from an attack of sickness, and was bled. From Frankfort he sent notice to Spalatin at Worms, that since that time he felt weak and exhausted to an extent never before experienced. On the journey he found a new imperial edict posted up, which ordered that all his books should be delivered up, because they were condemned by the pope, and were contrary to the Christian faith hitherto received. By this act Charles V. pacified the Legates who had been much offended at Luther's citation to Worms. Many doubted whether Luther would make his personal appearance, after the emperor had so adversely adjusted his cause. Luther himself was alarmed, but he proceeded on his journey.

In Worms, in the meantime, great excitement and intense anxiety prevailed on both sides. Hutten issued from Ebernburg castle, threatening and furious missives against the papal legates. They really apprehended that an attack would be made upon them. Aleander lamented that Sickingen was now king in Germany, because he had many followers, wherever he wanted them. In truth, however, Sickingen was by no means ready for any in-

terference at present, but on the other hand, he counted upon continuing to be the friend of the emperor, and sympathized with the ecclesiastical views; yea, was even now on the eve of accepting a military office in his service. Anxious friends of Luther remembered, that in accordance with papal justice, no one was bound to observe the safe conduct of a condemned heretic. Spalatin himself sent to Luther, as he was journeying from Frankfort toward Oppenheim, a warning from Worms, that he might possibly experience the fate of Huss.

At the same time, on the other hand, Glapio, assuredly with the knowledge and consent of his imperial master, cunningly made another attempt, and in a manner quite unexpected, to prevent him from going to Worms, if possible. He came with the imperial chamberlain Paul von Armsdorf, to Sickingen and Hutten to Ebernburg, spoke as before about Brück in a style not unkind, and in a tone of affected respect about Luther, and offered to hold a friendly consultation with him in the presence of Sickingen. At the same time Armsdorf dissuaded Hutten by the offer of an imperial pension from any further attacks and threats against the legates. If Luther should come to Ebernburg, according to the proposition, he could not arrive at Worms at the right time, the safe conduct granted him would be void, and the emperor would have him at his own discretion. Nevertheless, Sickingen consented to the proposition, for the danger which threatened Luther at Worms must have appeared greater to him, and Luther would at least then have enjoyed the protection of his castle, which had already been offered him. The theologian, Bucer, was at that time a guest at Sickingen's castle. He had become acquainted with Luther in Heidelberg in 1518, and conceived a strong attachment to him. Bucer was now commissioned to extend to him the invitation in Oppenheim, in the neighborhood of which his journey would lead him.

However, Luther kept straightway on his tour. To Bucer he answered, "that Glapio can see us all in Worms if he chooses; if Huss had been burned, nevertheless the truth had not been burned; he would go to Worms, if there were as many devils there as there are tiles on the roofs."

On the morning of the 16th of April, at ten o'clock, Luther entered Worms. He sat in an open wagon in his monastic costume, with his three escorts from Wittenberg. A great number

of others attended him on horseback; many of them, like Jonas, had previously been his adherents, and some of them were officers of the electoral court, who had gone out of Worms to meet him. The herald rode in front, the watchman on the steeple of the dome blew his trumpet, when he saw the procession approach the gateway. Thousands rushed out to behold Luther. Those officers of the court conducted him into the lodge of the Knights of St. John, where, in addition to two members of the council of the Elector, his quarters were established. When alighting from the wagon he said: "God will be with me." Aleander says of him, in a report to Rome, that he had looked around upon the crowd with demon-like eyes.

On this first day already, and also on the day following, distinguished gentlemen, clergymen, and laymen, in throngs visited him, desiring to make his personal acquaintance. On the evening of the following day he was summoned to appear before the Imperial Diet, which was assembled not far from Luther's quarters in the episcopal palace, where the emperor resided. He was conducted thither through by-ways, because they could not pass through the immense crowd desirous of seeing him, and which literally blocked up the street. As he was entering the Session Chamber, as an old tradition relates, the renowned General George von Frundsberg tapped him upon the shoulder and said: "My dear little monk, you are taking a step the like of which neither I nor many a commander in our fiercest battles, would take. If you are sure of being right, thoroughly convinced that your cause is of God, then proceed in the name of God, and be of good cheer: God will never forsake you." The jurist, Hieronymus Schurf, his Wittenbergian colleague, was commissioned by the Elector to stand by him as his legal adviser.

When he was permitted to present himself before the Imperial Diet, after waiting two hours, the archiepiscopal counsellor of Trier, Eck, asked him, in the name of the emperor, simply the two questions, whether he acknowledged as his own the books which were lying piled up alongside of Eck,* and whether he would revoke their contents. Schurf insisted that the title of the books should be named, whereupon Eck read them. There were among them some writings of an entirely practical character, as

* To be distinguished from the theologian Eck.



LUTHER BEFORE THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPIRE.

for instance, an explanation of the Lord's Prayer, which had never been made the subject of an accusation.

As a matter of course, for such a procedure Luther was not prepared. In addition to this, the first sight of the distinguished assembly may have intimidated him. He answered in a low tone, and as if alarmed, that the books were his; the question about their contents, however, concerned the highest theme that could engage the attention of men, the Word of God and the soul's salvation; in this case he must needs guard himself against an inconsiderate answer, for that reason would humbly beg for more time for deliberation.

After a short consultation, the emperor condescended to inform him that out of mercy he would grant him respite until morning. Thus Luther was required to present himself to the Imperial Diet again on Thursday, the 18th of April. Again he was compelled to wait two hours. There he stood in the dense throng, however, passing his time pleasantly in conversation with the envoy to the Imperial Diet, Peutinger, his Augustinian patron.

After he had been called in, Eck began by reproving him for asking further time for consideration, and then proceeded to put a second question somewhat modified and more in conformity to the ideas of the States. "Will you defend all the books acknowledged by you, or recant some of them?" Luther made a deliberate reply in a firm and decided tone; he divided his books into classes. In several of them he treated simple evangelical truths, which friend and foe must equally profess; such he certainly could not recant. In other books he had attacked pernicious laws and doctrines of the papacy which, as no one could deny, tortured the consciences of Christians and also tyrannically devoured the property of the German nation; if he should recant these books, he would make himself a disgraceful abettor of wickedness and oppression. In the third place, he had written against individual persons who defend and sanction this tyranny, and aimed at annihilating these pious teachings; against them he acknowledges to have been more severe than was proper; however, even these books he cannot recant, without aiding in the furtherance of tyranny and ungodliness. For the protection of his books, however, he could only say as once our Lord said, "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil" (St. John xviii. 23,) and he asked for counter-evidence taken from the prophetic

and evangelical writings. As in the course of his reply it took the form of a fresh attack on the papacy, toward the conclusion he changed the tenor of it and uttered an earnest admonition to the emperor and the empire, that instead of securing peace and quiet by a condemnation of the divine Word, they would on the other hand open the flood-gates of evil upon the country and signalize the commencement of the reign of the noble young emperor by untold miseries and evils that cannot be conceived. He did not mean to say that his distinguished hearers required this admonition, but that he could not refrain discharging this duty in behalf of his beloved Germany.

Luther, like Eck, spoke Latin, and then repeated the speech with equal firmness in German, at the request of some present. Shurf, who stood at his side, afterwards commended the manner in which "Martinus" had, with his eyes raised toward heaven delivered this answer with such bravery and freedom of utterance, that he and everybody else were struck with profound amazement. After this defence the princes again held a short consultation. Then Eck at the suggestion of the Emperor reproached him severely for having spoken rudely, and that he did not really answer the questions put to him:—he rejected his appeal for counter-evidence since his heresy was condemned by the church in all time, and especially by the Council of Constance, and that such verdicts must suffice, if anything is to be regarded as established in Christendom. He promised in addition in case he would revoke such articles, to proceed gently against all his other books and then finally insisted upon a simple, concise answer to the question, whether he would adhere to all his writings or recant some? Thereupon Luther rejoined: Then I will give an answer that has neither horns nor teeth; unless he would be refuted by evidence of the holy scripture, or by sound, clear argument, his conscience would be bound by the words of God which he had quoted in his writings, for the pope and the Councils had often erred, as is evident; that he could not and would not recant any thing, because to act against conscience is unsafe and dangerous.

Only a few remaining words did Eck exchange with him upon the question whether it could be proved that a Council had committed an error, which Luther resolutely maintained. Under the insults and threats of Eck, Luther gave vent to these words: "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise: God help me, amen!"

Unwillingly did the Emperor break up the session at eight o'clock in the evening. In the meantime it had become dark and the hall was lighted with torches, whilst there was great excitement and disturbance among the audience.

Luther was led out, upon which an uproar ensued among the Germans, who thought that he was carried away as a prisoner. Whilst he was standing in the midst of the excited multitude, Duke Erich of Brunswick ordered a mug of Eimbeck beer to be handed to him, from which he himself had before drunk.

When he had reached his quarters, a citizen of Nürnberg who was present, reports that "Luther lifted up his hands and with a joyous countenance exclaimed, 'I have got through! I have got through!'" Spalatin relates, "that he returned to his lodgings so cheerful and happy in the Lord, that in the presence of others and of myself, he said, 'if he had a thousand heads, he would allow them all to be cut off, rather than recant a single word.'" He also reports that the Elector before he went to supper summoned Luther to his own apartments, took him into a private chamber and full of admiration, said: "Wonderfully well and boldly did Father Doctor Martinus speak in Latin and German before the Emperor, the princes and States of the empire; he is much too bold for me!"

On the other hand, the Emperor Charles had been so little impressed with Luther's personal appearance and bearing, and had such a slight appreciation of the man, that he believed he never could have written the letters ascribed to him. His Spanish minions pursued Luther with insulting hisses, as he was leaving the hall.

Inasmuch as he had resolutely refused to recant, he had now rendered impossible all mediation of moderate adherents of the existing ecclesiastical affairs, and all efforts they might make towards his reconciliation with the superior powers. An alliance with him was also now rendered impossible for those who opposed.

It was upon the Councils that Eck purposely called out his opinion. Upon this subject also he may have spoken too boldly for his Elector. Aleander, who so violently opposed his citation and trial, was now very well satisfied with the result of it. But Luther continued faithful to himself. True, he had often spoken of concession in external matters, and that we should have regard to the weak for the sake of unity and love; and his

demeanor in the building up of the church will show us how wisely he accommodated himself to the condition of affairs, and how he was satisfied with imperfections where perfection could not be attained. But here the question was not concerning externals, or a greater or less compatible measure for a good purpose, but it was a confession or denial of the truth, and as he expressed it, of the holiest and highest truth affecting the glory of God and the salvation of souls. Herein his conscience was bound.

And yet the trial which he was to undergo in this affair was not over.

On the morning of the 19th, the Emperor announced to the States, that he had determined to send Luther back to Wittenberg and to treat him as a heretic. A majority, however, succeeded in prevailing upon him to allow further negotiations with him through a special committee. They were headed by the Elector of Trier, before whom formerly Frederick the Wise and Miltitz desired to bring the affair of Luther. The kindness and moral interest in his cause which these men showed, were better adapted to move Luther than the appearance and conduct of Eck. He subsequently himself demonstrated to the archbishop that he had showed himself more than gracious towards him and that he would cheerfully have come to an agreement. They by no means demanded of him a recantation of all his positions condemned by the pope, or of his writings against the pope, but his attention was specially called to those in which he opposed the declarations of the Council of Constance.

It was demanded of him that he should, with full confidence, submit to a decision of the emperor and the States, after his books had undergone an examination by impartial judges. After that, he might accept the decision of a future Council, against which the decision of the pope would not avail. So independently did the committee of a German Diet, of which several German bishops and George Duke of Saxony were members, at that time act in negotiating with a man who had already been condemned by the pope. But everything was blasted by the immovable condition laid down by Luther, that the decision should not contravene the Word of God; with him it was a matter of conscience, and he could not yield. Thus, after two days' negotiation, according to Spalatin's report, he wrote to the archbishop on April 25th: "Most gracious sir, I cannot yield—let the consequence

be what God wills," and continued: "I beg your Electoral Grace, that you will procure from the emperor his gracious permission for me to return home, for this is the tenth day that I have been here, and nothing concerning me has as yet been concluded." Three hours after, the emperor sent word to Luther that he must return to Wittenberg, and that the safe conduct should be valid for twenty-one days longer; but that he should not be allowed to preach on his journey.

Frederick the Wise could no longer extend to him protection and public support in Wittenberg, but in the meantime he had made arrangements for his protection in another way and at another place. Spalatin reports thus: "My gracious master was thus far a little lacking in confidence—he felt a tender attachment for Dr. Martin; would not willingly do anything contrary to God's Word, nor offend the emperor, and thought of some method of removing Dr. Martin from public observation for a season, if the affair could be secretly accomplished. He let Luther know the evening before he left Worms, how he was to be disposed of, to which he consented in honor of Duke Frederick, although he surely would have been willing to brave all dangers and meet any results that might ensue."

On the next morning, Friday the 26th, Luther left Worms. To avoid all spectacle and excitement, the herald appointed to accompany him, followed some hours after. They traveled the usual road towards Eisenach. In Friedberg, he dismissed the herald with a letter to the emperor and the States, in which he vindicates his conduct in Worms, and his refusal to confide in human decisions, by asserting that in questions affecting God's Word and eternal things, we dare not submit to the judgment of one or many men, but alone to God, who has spoken plainly in the Scriptures. In Herzfeld, the abbot, Crato, received him with high honor in spite of the ban, and in Eisenach he preached, regardless of the imperial interdiction, for the Word of God should not be bound.

From Eisenach, where Swaven, Schurf, and other associates left him, he, with Amsdorf and brother Petzensteiner, proceeded southwards, to visit his relatives in Möhra. Here he spent the night with his uncle, Heintz, and preached next morning, Saturday, May 4. Thence, accompanied by some relatives, he took the road that leads through Schweina, near the castle Altenstein,

and then through the Thuringian forest to Wallenhausen and Gotha. Near Altenstein he parted from his relations towards evening. After he had proceeded several miles farther, until where the road leads into the forest hills, and ascends between hills at a small stream, near an old chapel, which at that time was in ruins and has now totally disappeared, armed knights attacked the carriage, in a rude and menacing manner ordered the coachman to stop, violently tore Luther out, and hastily carried him off. Petzensteiner escaped as soon as he was aware of the attack. The coachman and Amsdorf, the latter of whom had been let into the secret, but on account of the former pretended to be alarmed, were permitted to pursue their journey unhurt. In order to conceal the design of conveying him to Wartburg castle, which lay several miles north, they first took an easterly direction. The coachman afterwards remembered and related it on many occasions, that Luther wore a gray cap, but that in the confusion and hurry, he let it drop. The knights then furnished him with a horse. It was eleven o'clock, and the night was very dark, when they arrived at the stately castle in the vicinity of Eisenach. Here he was to be protected as a prisoner knight. The secret was rigidly kept from friend and foe. Even after the lapse of several weeks, Frederick's brother, John, knew nothing of it, and several times wrote to Frederick informing him that he had heard that Luther was imprisoned in one of Sickingen's castles. The alarming report was also circulated among his friends, that his enemies had violently put him out of the way.

In Worms, whilst the pope was negotiating an alliance with the emperor against France, the edict against Luther was consummated on May 8th, through the papal legate, Aleander, by order of the emperor. It was only made known to the other States on the 25th, after Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate, and a majority of the other members of the Diet, had departed from Worms. In addition to this equivocal proceeding, the edict was antedated to the 8th of May, and published as "the unanimous act of the Electors and States." It decreed against Luther the imperial ban, after applying to him the usual severe expressions of the papal bulls; no one was permitted to receive him, entertain him, or show him any kindness, but that he was to be arrested wherever found and delivered to the emperor.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DIET AT WORMS TO THE PEASANT
WAR, AND LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

15

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER AT THE WARTBURG TILL HIS VISIT TO WITTENBERG IN
1521.

AFTER Luther had been brought to Wartburg castle, he was obliged to assume the character of a knighted prisoner. He bore the title of Knight George, let his beard grow profusely, exchanged the monastic for the knightly robes, and wore a sword at his side. Towards him the keeper of the castle, Herr von Berlepsch, showed all honor, giving unsparing attention to his comfort. The unrestricted use of the castle was accorded to him. He was also permitted to walk and ride without being accompanied by a trusty attendant. Thus, as he wrote to a friend, was he detained on that height, in the region of the birds, as a distinguished prisoner, *volens volens*, willingly and unwillingly—willingly, since God so willed it; unwillingly, as he would far rather take an open stand in defence of the Holy Word, but for which service he believed that God had not yet found him worthy.

Still further facilities were also provided, in order that he might, at least by writing, hold intercourse with his co-laborers at Wittenberg. The letters were transmitted, by means of princely messengers, through the hands of Spalatin. When Luther, in process of time, understood that the place of his retreat was suspected, he addressed to Spalatin a letter in which this language occurs: "There is, as I learn, a rumor in circulation, that Luther is sojourning in the Wartburg, at Eisenach. The people thus suppose, because I was taken prisoner in the forest; but while they are thus imagining, I am reposing here in concealment. Should the books which I publish betray me, then I would change my situation; it is remarkable that nobody thinks of Bohemia." Luther thought that Spalatin could by some means let this communication fall into the hands of his lurking adversaries, and thus confuse them in their surmisings. But Spalatin made no use of this attempt at naive strategy. It would hardly have resulted in much good, since those on the alert, suspecting a purpose, would only have been the more effectually

directed to the Wartburg. Moreover, for the time it resulted in notable advantage to guard the secrecy of the place; also after the suspicion had gained ground that the spot was somewhere within the Saxon dominions. As late as 1528, Luther's friend Agricola remarked that the place had remained concealed until that time, through a period in which some had sought it by making application to Satan; and even more than twenty years later, Cochlæus, Luther's antagonist, asserted that Alstedt, in Thuringia, was the place.

There was no sovereign authority within the region of this occurrence that would have regarded it necessary or appropriate to pursue particularly an object of condemnation under the edict of Worms. The Emperor had again left Germany, and became involved in a war with France.

In the quiet of his solitude, Luther immediately applied himself again, so far as it was there possible, to the labor of his calling: this was the study of the Holy Scriptures, and the rapid production of works by his own pen, in the service of the divine Word. He now found more time than he had ever before had, thoroughly to investigate the Bible in the original languages. As early as ten days after his arrival he wrote to Spalatin, "I am seated here at leisure the whole day long, reading the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures."

Luther's abode at the castle began between Easter and Pentecost. Hence he immediately wrote an Exposition of the Sixty-eighth Psalm, which he rendered specially applicable to the ascension of Christ and the outpouring of the Spirit.

On the deliverance of the church from the papal yoke, he immediately advanced still further in a treatise entitled, "Of the Confession, whether the Pope has the power to dominate." He commended confession, in which man humbles himself and receives forgiveness from God, at the mouth of a Christian brother; but discarded all compulsory confession, and warned against the priests, who made it an instrument of oppression. He now publicly returned thanks to Knight Sickingen, by thus dedicating his production to him: "To the resolute and steadfast Franciscus von Sickingen, my especial lord and patron." In his letter of dedication he repeated the apprehension long since uttered with reference to the evil which the clergy would bring down upon themselves because of their own incorrigibleness and obstinacy.

He says, "I have often offered peace, tendered my services in reply, entered into disputation, but all in vain; for, not justice, but pure calumny and violence met me—I encountered nothing but contradiction and menace of evil." Then speaking of the value of the present moment, in which he was obliged to retreat, he continues: "I cannot go on now, I am pushed aside from my plan; they will now have time to alter what cannot, shall not, and will not be tolerated of them; if they do not alter, then another will change without their consent—one, who will not, like Luther, teach them by letter and word, but in deed. There is, thank God, for once less of fear and awe before this spectre of Rome." Concerning their defiance he continues, "Proceeding headlong, as they do, there is no attention or reflection: very well, I have before this seen bubbles, and once just such a wanton vapor, which undertook to extinguish the sun; but the vapor has vanished, and the sun still shines. I will continue to uncover the truth and bring it to light, fearing these merciless lords as little as they so much despise me."

Luther at the same time, with loving devotion to his purpose, brought to completion the exposition of Mary's Hymn of Praise (the *Magnificat*), which he designed for Prince John Frederick. He now resumed work upon his Pericope, the first part of which he had formerly published in the Latin language. But to these selections he now gave, in regard to the Christian German people, a very important dress; namely, by treating these sermonic texts in German, as also those which he had previously elaborated in Latin. This originated his first collection of sermons—the Church-Postil. As early as November he was prepared to commit to the printer the first portion, which, however, advanced but slowly. In these discourses he began in a pithy, discerning, and thoroughly popular style, to set forth to the mind and impress upon the heart the whole system of Christian truth; thus presenting a simple exposition of the Holy Scriptures, without pretentious rhetorical form or flourish, but with steady regard to the life, and a continuous reference to the principles of salvation. This work served as a means of self-improvement and assistance to other preachers of the newly-proclaimed Gospel, as well as immediately affording edification and instruction to the church members. Beyond this it, however, made but gradual progress, and Luther brought it to a close only after many years, when

friends requested from him single sermons, either printed or copied. He wrote an Exposition of the Thirty-seventh Psalm, expressly for the comfort and counsel of his Wittenberg congregation. No less vigorously and forcibly did he again wield his pen in strictly classic Latin polemics, against Latonius, one of the theologians of Lyons.

Yet he repeatedly complained of his sitting there idle, declaring that he would rather be consumed in the service of the divine Word than to decay in solitude. Physical rest, substituted in his case for constant and most stirring activity in the lecturer's chair and in the pulpit, and the rich knightly fare in place of simple cloister diet, undoubtedly originated all those bodily sufferings which now for a long time tormented him, testing his patience and necessarily depressing his spirits. His sufferings, arising from the most obstinate constipation and other consequent ailments, extended into October. In his distress he at one time had already made up his mind to go to Erfurt and seek remedy of the physicians there. But a very effective medicine which Spalatin had procured for him, then brought him at least temporary relief.

He sought exercise in the beautiful forests about the castle. Here he gathered strawberries, an exercise to which he refers at a later day. In August he also informs Spalatin of a hunting excursion, in which he participated for two days, desiring to include this bitter-sweet pleasure of heroes. He says: "We obtained two rabbits and a few poor partridges—truly a proper employment for idle folks!" He says that he had pursued theology also among the nets and dogs. There he had a picture of the devil, who by means of cunning and wicked doctrine pursues innocent creatures. Still deeper thought was caused to him by the fate of a little rabbit, which by his help was rescued from danger and wrapped by him in the long sleeve of his mantle, but which was killed by the dogs at a moment of his temporary absence. "Thus," says he, "do the pope and Satan rage to destroy even already-rescued souls, in spite of my exertions."

He then thought also that he heard and saw all manner of diabolical apparitions, of which he was long afterwards accustomed to speak to his friends, but which he then already encountered with great composure. Such were strange rumblings in a chest in which he had stored filberts, nightly noises on the

stairway, or the inexplicable appearance of a black dog on his bed. Concerning the well-known ink-spot in the Wartburg, we do not hear aught in that time or the near-succeeding age; such a stain was also pointed out in the last century at the castle of Coburg, where Luther sojourned in 1530.

Meantime the agitation produced by Luther continued and increased abroad, in spite of his disappearance. It became apparent how little it could be suppressed, though he was removed. On the other hand it was soon to become manifest whether this agitation should not be productive of actual danger and ruin to the Church and people.

At Wittenberg his friends worked on faithfully and without molestation. As much as Melanchthon was concerned in and longed for Luther, so much did Luther confide in him and his work, rendering his own presence unnecessary. With joyful congratulations did he receive at the Wartburg the separate sheets of a production, in which Melanchthon—while he desired merely first of all to define the fundamental conceptions and doctrines of the Bible, and especially of the Epistle to the Romans—had laid the foundation of the Dogmatics of the Evangelical Church (Melanchthon's so-called *Loci*).

New forces had now also enlisted in the work and conflict. Just before Luther's departure to Worms, there had already appeared at Wittenberg John Bugenhagen, of Pomerania, who was but two years Luther's junior, well prepared in theological and anthropological learning, and who had been won to the side of Luther's teaching, by his writings, and especially by the work on the Babylonian Captivity. He had also already become personally associated with Luther and Melanchthon, and soon he began to teach in the University. Even before that had Agricola, of Eisleben, interested himself in the Biblical lectures of the University, which furnished a proper opening for the exposition of the evangelical doctrine. This man, born in 1494, had his home at Wittenberg since 1516. From the beginning he associated with Luther, and enjoyed both his and Melanchthon's confidence. He taught in the high-school, and was since the spring of 1521, simultaneously employed by the parish-church as catechist, whose duty it was to give the children religious instruction.

Furthermore, there was now won for Wittenberg Justus Jonas, noted for his literary training, and who had sufficient decision to

become the friend of Luther. Shortly after accompanying the latter from Erfurt to the Diet of Worms, he received through the Elector the position of provost of the Wittenberg Church of All-Saints, and then also became a colleague in the theological faculty. The edict which had been issued with reference to Luther, and especially also concerning Melancthon, did not frighten away the multitude of students. The entire body of academic youth who had here met from all Germany, from Switzerland, from Poland and other countries, were commended for the harmony in which, quite contrary to the custom prevalent in most universities, they here associated and devoted themselves to the highest studies. Everywhere students could be seen with the Bible in their hands. The sons of noblemen and civilians cultivated good breeding. Especially were the pernicious bacchanalian revels unknown here.

Throughout the German provinces Luther had drawn attention to himself, especially by his appearance in Worms. The transactions of the Diet were soon scattered everywhere by means of smaller and larger tracts, as would now be done by newspapers. Especially were the speeches of Luther at this Diet published with annotations originating in part from Luther himself, and in part from others. Continuously, and especially during the sessions of the Diet, other short publications were actively employed throughout the land in representing and explaining his position. In these the form of the dialogue was usually adopted. What had occurred to him in Worms was also set forth in a "Passion of Dr. Martin Luther," namely, as its title would already indicate, in correspondence with the Biblical account of the suffering of Jesus. Then followed the intensely stirring intelligence of his sudden disappearance by means of secret violence; but he soon himself efficiently proclaimed his presence by resuming with undiminished zeal and defiance the work of preaching and battling from the place of his concealment.

As authors, beginning to work in the same popular spirit and manner, we have now to mention first of all Eberlin von Günzburg, formerly a Franciscan monk in Tübingen; next, the Augustinian monk, Michael Stifel of Eslingen, who himself came to Wittenberg and joined the fraternity there; and next to him, the Franciscan Henry von Kettenbach, in Ulm. The

authors of other influential productions, as for instance the little book of dialogues, entitled "New Karsthans" (Karsthans—the name for peasants,) have to this day not been with certainty ascertained. Among such men and writings there are already found thoughts and suggestions transcending Luther's intentions reaching beyond into provinces which Luther always much preferred to have separated from his religious province, and pointing to weapons which he peremptorily rejected. Thus, the book "Karsthans" suggests the destruction of the greater part of the churches, according to the Bohemian Hussites' example, because they were associated with priestly avarice and superstition; this was equivalent to an insurrection against the clergy, in which noblemen and peasants might coöperate. The uncommonly active Eberlin, while making the most comprehensive ecclesiastical propositions of reform, at the same time searched into civil, social and national questions and wants, which Luther had but touched in his work on the German nobility, and always knew to distinguish from his peculiar design. He showed that he was opposed to commercial traffic to a greater extent than Luther was. He spoke of government establishing, as a fixed law, low prices on provisions, of the appointment to governmental offices by means of an election, in the privileges of which the peasants should share, and of liberty in hunting, fishing, etc.

The Edict of Worms, according to which heretical preaching and literature were to be denounced and suppressed, was published by princes and magistrates in their respective countries and cities; but there was a lack of power, and partly also of will, to carry it vigorously into execution.

In Erfurt, soon after Luther's passage on his journey towards Worms, the interference of the clergy against a member of some religious foundation, who had shared in the demonstration of respect then tendered the former, already furnished the first occasion for terrible and repeated tumults. Students, together with others from the populace and rabble, destroyed more than sixty houses of priests. But Luther always told his friends that in this he recognized Satan, who meant, with plausible objections, to bring reproach on the Gospel.

Elsewhere, and most of all in Wittenberg, there were those who engaged, during his absence, in accomplishing the projects for which he by word contended. With mature, quiet reflection

and consolation, he took part therein in his solitude as from a watch-tower. He had a very lively and oft painful consciousness of personal responsibility, as the one who had first kindled all this fire, and especially as he felt himself in duty bound to the congregation at Wittenberg as teacher and shepherd.

Soon after his arrival at Wittenberg he received the news that Bartholomew Bernhardt, of Feldkirchen, provost in the town of Kimberz, situated near Wittenberg, openly and without the consent of his congregation, had married a wife. This was not the first divine who dared to transgress the unchristian ecclesiastical prohibition of marriage, and he was among the first and the most respected, and was at the same time a special student of Luther's, besides being an utterly blameless personage. Luther wrote thus to Melanchthon concerning the matter: "This new husband I admire, who is fearless in this stormy period, and who has not delayed to take this step. May God guide him!"

In Wittenberg the claim could not without violence be pressed further than that monachism should be abolished, and that the Mass and the Lord's Supper should become so altered as to conform to the institution of Christ. It seemed as if here, instead of Luther, who had preceded them with the simple witnesses of word and doctrine, two other men should be placed as practical, energetic reformers. The one was Luther's old colleague, Carlstadt. In July he returned to Wittenberg from a brief sojourn in Copenhagen, whither the Danish king had called him in the interests of the new evangelical theology at the University, but from which he was soon released. He now strove with passionate, vainglorious and pretended zeal, to play the first role. The other was the Augustinian monk, Gabriel Zwilling, who appeared in the cloister church as an earnest preacher, and who, despite his unattractive presence and weak voice, won and held a crowd of hearers from the city and the University. A young Silesian at that time wrote home from the University of Wittenberg concerning him: "God has raised up unto us another prophet; many call him a second Luther; Melanchthon never misses any of his sermons."

Carlstadt, by an erroneous interpretation of Scripture, represented marriage as being obligatory on the ministry. Thus only married men could be called to the ministerial office. For monks and nuns he claimed liberty to leave their cloister and give up

celibacy, if they found the monastic requirements insufferable; but produced also inappropriate Bible proofs for this, and at the same time declared the renunciation of the vow as yet sinful, which was, however, justified because the still greater sin of unchastity in the monastic life was thus avoided. Although Luther claimed that the cup in the Lord's Supper should again be granted the laity, in keeping with its original institution by Christ, Carlstadt and Zwilling now maintained it to be sinful to partake of the Supper where the cup was withheld from the laity. Furthermore, it was held that external forms also in the distribution be modelled after that Supper which Jesus himself celebrated with his twelve disciples. Zwilling thought that twelve communicants should always partake together of the bread and wine. And it was further insisted on that in accordance with the form at the original Supper, the elements must now be given into the communicant's own hand for participation, and not be put into the mouth by the minister. Zwilling would no longer tolerate the mass, but Carlstadt thought it more prudent to allow the former cultus with reference to this article.

Concerning these questions and measures, Luther expressed himself early in August to Melancthon, who was himself moved by them, but felt himself undecided in many respects. To restore again the Lord's Supper with the cup in Wittenberg, according to the institution, met with Luther's approval also; for the tyranny which the Christian church in this respect had borne was herein evident, and should consequently be resisted. He declared further concerning private mass (without congregational communion) that he was determined never again to perform it. But he would not use force or compulsion; so that if any one, being yet under tyranny, should take part in a communion without the cup, it must not be regarded as sinful in him. Concerning the exigency of monks and nuns, under their self-imposed vows, he constantly cherished no less sympathy than did his Wittenberg colleagues; but he did not find the arguments valid, with which the latter sought to gain their liberty. He now began to meditate more acutely and thoroughly upon this subject, and soon forwarded a list of propositions concerning it to Wittenberg. He went, indeed, to the very root of the vow itself. Ordinarily, celibacy and other monkish usages are nothing else than vows to God, with a view and in the hope of thereby obtaining salvation, as

by one's own works and righteousness; this is not according to God's will, but a denial of the faith. And even if a person has pledged himself with purer motives, yet he at least placed himself of his own choice under a constraint and yoke, that militate against the Gospel and the liberty which comes by faith. Luther proceeded further to say, that the chastity rendered by a monk is only possible by means of that peculiar gift of which the Apostle (1 Cor. vii.) speaks. How could a person make a vow unto God, for the performance of which He must first grant the possibility? Hence, one pledges himself to a chastity which he is in truth not able to keep, whereas a true chastity, which is despised by him, were made possible by God in wedlock. Hence these vows are objectionable to him from the beginning, offensive to God, and have no more obligation upon a Christian, who has become free by faith and has learned to know the true will of God.

Whilst in other respects this question concerned himself, the Augustinian monk specially, he as coolly as possible took advantage of a liberty which he intuitively knew he possessed. When he received those reports from Wittenberg, he wrote to Spalatin: "Wonderful! our Wittenbergians will yet give wives to the monks; but they shall not obtrude one on me!" And he asked Melancthon, jokingly, whether he desired to avenge himself on him for having helped his friend to a wife. If so, he well knew how to shield himself.

In Wittenberg there was a great stir, especially on account of the Mass. In the Augustinian cloister the majority of the monks sided with Zwilling; they would celebrate the Lord's Supper only according to Christ's institution. But the prior, Held, opposed it. No less zealous than these, Jonas expressed himself as pastor of the University church, but found violent opposition in other members of the chapter. A committee of men from the University and the chapter, of whom the Elector asked an opinion, expressed itself, according to its majority, as of the same view, yea, even petitioned the prince himself to abolish the abuse of the Mass.

But Frederick utterly declined to decree, of his own authority, any innovations which would prove a departure from the great Christian universal church, especially since unanimity respecting it was impossible even in Wittenberg. He would always confine

himself to giving peace and protection to the new testimony of Biblical truth, until it should be regularly examined by the church. But Mass and the Lord's Supper were now altogether discontinued in the church of the Augustinian cloister.

Now the principles relative to monachism began also to be seriously investigated. Thirteen Augustinians, about one-third of those then in the cloister at Wittenberg, left it during the first days of November, and quitted the monastic life. Partly, they at once took up some civilian calling or trade. But by means of this there was stirred up, all the more, among citizens and students, a certain ferment, hostile to monachism. There was all manner of misdemeanor. Monks were ridiculed upon the streets, threats made against choristers, and the services of the Mass disturbed by tumultuous intruders.

In the meantime, Luther was engaged, in his quiet retreat in further elucidating the subjects of vows and the mass, in clearing up and strengthening these newly-acquired perceptions and convictions, as also in demanding permanent reforms. He wrote a book "On the Abuse of the Mass," both in Latin and German, and at the same time also a Latin work concerning vows. The latter he dedicated to his father, in which he made allusion to his father's protest against his monastic vow, and joyfully presented himself as a free man, who was a monk and yet no longer a monk. But what he heard concerning the manner of the secession of his brethren of the Order, he disapproved: they might have, and should have, separated peaceably and in a friendly manner, not tumultuously, as was the case. The writings just named he completed in November, and then forwarded them to Spalatin to have them published in Wittenberg.

Thus was Luther busied with these affairs from summer into the winter, while he still continued his Biblical studies and his labor on the Church-postil besides.

At the same time he also prepared a heavy blow against the Cardinal Albert. The last-named had cautiously abstained from strict measures against the spread of Lutheran preaching in his territory. But he needed money. To this end he published a work, in which he called attention to a great holy relic, which he had erected in his city of Halle, on the Saale, and invited pilgrimages thither. Here some very rich and wonderful relics had been brought together, not only a heap of bones and

skeletons of saints, with a piece of the body of the patriarch Isaac, but also, for example, remains of manna which had fallen from heaven in the wilderness, parts of the burning bush of Moses, jars from the marriage at Cana, and a portion of the wine which Jesus there made from water, thorns from the crown of Jesus, one of the stones with which Stephen was stoned, etc., etc.—in all nearly nine thousand pieces. Whoever would devoutly attend the exhibition of these holy treasures in the collegiate church of Halle, and give the Order some benevolent gift, to him “extraordinary” indulgence would be granted. The first of this kind of exhibition took place already in the beginning of September. Even Albert could not forbear arresting one of the priests who desired to be married; it was hence very discernible how much he indemnified himself for his own celibacy amid coquettish intercourse.

Hence Luther, as he tells Spalatin, October 7th, 1521, could no longer contain himself, but was constrained privately and publicly to inveigh against him, his “indulgence-idols,” and his “house of paramours.” Nor did it make any difference to him that his own pious Elector had a few years since ordered similar, only less showy exhibitions in his Wittenberg collegiate church, and that hence he is still by association included in the reproaches which are now no longer applicable to him. Already at the close of the month he had a work ready for publication. But Frederick interdicted, through Spalatin, this attack upon Albert, the high, German, imperial prince, Elector of Mayence, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg! He would not tolerate—so he sent word to Luther—anything that might mar the public peace. Luther had scarcely ever read, as he replied to Spalatin, a more disagreeable letter than the one in which the foregoing was communicated to him. He burst out with the reply: “I shall not submit to it; rather let me lose you and the prince, and all the world; having resisted the pope, why should I yield to his creature?” He only desired first to submit his production to Melanchthon and refer eventual changes to his judgment. To this end he forwarded it to Spalatin. Then on the 1st of December he addressed a letter to Albert himself. The contents and spirit of this might lead us to infer what that production might contain. Without any circumlocution, but in clear, decisive German, he proposed to him the “humble request” to leave the poor

people corrupted, and to prove himself a shepherd, and not a wolf; for he must certainly know by this time that indulgences were knavery and deception. He would not have him to think that Luther was dead, for he would joyfully boast of God, and begin with the Cardinal of Mayence, a play such as few can imagine. In allusion to those priests, the letter referred the Archbishop to a cry which shall come from the Gospel concerning it, "how much it would become the bishops first to pull the beams out of their own eyes, that bishops should first dismiss their harlots." Finally, Luther gave him two weeks time for a "proper" reply, or else at the expiration of this period, he would send forth his "little book against the idol of Halle."

But the reports from Wittenberg constantly held him in greatest suspense. Now the great distance and the ceremoniousness of the exchange of letters became wholly unbearable. A few days following this, on the 1st of December, he suddenly appeared there among his friends. Secretly, attended by a servant only, he journeyed thither on horseback in his knightly dress. For three days he remained there with Amsdorf. Only his nearest friends were permitted to know it. His association with them, as he wrote to Spalatin, gave him most precious enjoyment. But the news that Spalatin had neither left his writing against Albert, nor that concerning the mass, and that concerning vows to be either seen or heard, but that he had kept them back, was bitter wormwood for him. What his friends said of their efforts and labors met with his approval, and he wished them God-speed. But already on the way had he heard of a new disorder, which the people and students had excited against the priests and monks, and he at once regarded it his next task publicly to warn them against such unjustifiable conduct.

CHAPTER II.

HIS FURTHER SOJOURN AT THE WARTBURG AND HIS RETURN TO WITTENBERG, 1522.

SECRETLY as he had come, so Luther again returned to the Wartburg; and here he now composed "A Faithful Warning to all Christians to Guard themselves against Insurrection and Revolt." Before him was the danger of a tumult, which aimed at the life of the entire body of the clergy and monachism set in opposition to progress, and in which the common man, because of the many incumbrances burdening him, might engage with flail and cudgel, as the *Karsthans* threatened. He had before addressed his summons to the princes, magistrates, and the nobility to check ecclesiastical corruption and papal tyranny. The secular government and the nobility he also admonished now to "see to it because of their official power, each prince and lord in his own country; for what takes place under official authority must not be regarded as seditious." But he decidedly prohibited the masses from taking violent measures. Sedition means self-judgment and vengeance, which God was not willing to grant, who says, "Vengeance is mine." Every insurrection is wrong, whatever end it may have in view, and it usually makes an evil worse. Nor did Luther maintain that the government should slay the priests, as Moses and Elias had once served to the idolators; it should simply counteract what they were doing contrary to the Gospel. The end, he maintained, could be more than gained by means of words only; thus obviating the necessity of all violence. Luther was heard, indeed, to express himself similarly even before his journey to Worms. The declaration of the Apostle, that the Lord should slay the anti-christ with the breath of his mouth, Luther maintained was even now being fulfilled by the Word of evangelical preaching. On the ground of his own experience he reposed such wonderful confidence in this simple Word; for he had himself alone done more injury, by this means, to pope, priests and monks, than all emperors and princes thus far with all their power. Hence he was constantly looking towards the approach-

ing judgment-day, when Christ shall destroy the pope, whose knavery was now being exposed by means of His preached Word. Luther at the same time enjoined, as he had already done in his production on Christian liberty, and as he now had especial reason to repeat more expressly to the Wittenbergians, loving and indulgent regard for the weak, whose consciences were still oppressed by the commands concerning fastings, the celebration of the mass, etc., etc. They were not to be confused and overwhelmed, but kindly instructed; and did they not at once comprehend, patience should be exercised towards them. "You cannot well," he says, "be too severe to the wolves, nor too gentle to the weak sheep."

Those writings of Luther on the Mass and on vows were now correctly published. But Cardinal Albert in a short letter, of December 21st, really gave the reply requested by Luther. He says that what had occasioned Luther's writings was abolished, that he did not deny himself being a poor, sinful man, yea, a mass of corruption, as much as any one else, that he trusted God for grace and strength to live according to His will. So much did this prelate fear the threatenings of Luther. Of course, he had to be ashamed of his indulgence traffic before all his Humanistic friends, especially before Erasmus; and concerning the other disgrace which Luther held up to him, he had to expect the latter to expose it without tenderness or mercy. We here see, also, how entirely free from reproach Luther must have been, in this moral relation, not merely in his own consciousness, but also in the eyes of Albert. When Luther received this letter, he put little confidence in its contents, nor did he answer it, but now entirely desisted from that intended publication which had been forbidden by the Elector.

The most important work, however, which Luther undertook now in his further stay at the Wartburg, and which he gradually continued, was another work of peaceful character, the best fruit borne by his entire sojourn there, the noblest gift that Luther left his countrymen. It is his translation of the Bible, following that of the New Testament. "Our people request it of me," he wrote to Lange shortly after his return from Wittenberg. Thus the wish had been expressed or newly made from this source. It is true that the Bible had already been translated into German before Luther's time, but in a heavy style, unfamiliar to the ears of

the people, and not taken from the original text as was Luther's rendering, but from the Latin version in use among the churches. Luther declared that it was not permissible to use a German fashioned after the forms of a foreign language; but maintained that the mother in the family must be consulted, the children upon the street, the common man at the market; that their expressions must be carefully noted, so as to give the needful character to a translation intended for the understanding of the people. Thus he had striven to give an appropriate rendering and yet feared that he had not always attained to entire success. Not less scrupulous was he to maintain the sense of Scripture intact, and wherever this required it he confined himself even to a strict literalness. "Such an interpretation," he says, "demands a heart that is genuinely pious, faithful, industrious, reverential, Christian, cultivated, experienced, and disciplined." Permeated with the contents and spirit of Scripture, he had an intuitive faculty of blending throughout the characteristics of the language employed by the nobility and the populace. He worked so incessantly that he finished the New Testament while yet at the Wartburg, that is, in a few months; intending to improve it afterwards, with the assistance of Melancthon.

Meanwhile, the current of events in Wittenberg was such as to rouse Luther's misgivings more and more. It is true, the question concerning monastic vows was for the Augustinians peacefully dispatched, and altogether according to Luther's view, as far as this could be effected by means of resolutions, in a convention of the cloisters, which Link, the vicar of the order, held in Wittenberg. There it was resolved to make the leaving of a cloister optional, but that those who continued to protract their cloister life should remain in unhindered obedience towards their superiors and the established orders, and be employed partly in the preaching of God's word, and partly in manual labor for the cloister's sustenance.

But in the Wittenberg congregation, Carlstadt, who shortly before had still held back his companions with respect to the Mass, and who received neither the office of preacher nor any other within the bounds of city congregations, now by means of sermons and writings pressed earnestly forward in all respects, and advanced more and more, in a hasty and troubled manner, his reformatory ideas. To anticipate an electoral prohibition, he

secured the celebration of the Communion according to the new form on Christmas. Even ecclesiastical vestures were abolished as elements in the hitherto idolatrous practices. Zwilling conducted services in a coat like those worn by students. The people were challenged to eat meat and eggs on all formerly observed holidays. Confession before the Lord's Supper was also abolished. Carlstadt, furthermore, zealously fought against images in churches—it was not sufficient to forsake worshipping these, nor was it allowable to say that they might serve in like manner as books of instruction for the laity; for, God having absolutely forbidden them, they were fit for stoves, but not for sanctuaries. While the advice was by his instrumentality being established into a resolution, that images must be removed from parish churches, others from among the people were already engaged in tearing them down and in breaking and burning them.

Luther, however, yet constantly desired that proper regard for the weak be cultivated concerning those forms, which for himself he absolutely rejected. He could not believe that the great mass of his Wittenberg congregation had already become sufficiently matured, and that there was not a multitude of conscientious weak members who needed toleration. It might be said that it was indeed only a question of time; still, he also did not desire to delay actual reforms for the sake of the minority. But it was a matter of conscience with him that proper time be granted such members, and everything possible be done for their friendly instruction and edification. Compared with these things he regarded those other externals (upon which those reformers laid so much stress), as eating on fast-days the reception of the bread and wine at Communion with one's own hands, etc., etc., as small matters, whose observance or non-observance, was not detrimental to the true liberty of the believer: whereas the weak would be greatly injured, should they be compelled to do aught in these things contrary to their consciences. "Herein," he says, "you have taken captive many weak consciences. Should they now be expected to give a reason for it, in death or in some temptation, they would know absolutely nothing." He indeed attributes the destruction of those souls to him who enters among them in such an incautious and abrupt manner. He continues, in one of the writings intended for Wittenbergians: "You desire us to serve God, and do not know that you are the harbinger of the

devil; for this very reason he began this trouble to injure the Word that has taken root. He led you into this foolish little enterprise, in order that meanwhile you may lose sight of faith and love." Indeed, he highly valued works of genuine Christian art, and was always anxious to preserve them.

Those Wittenberg men desired to bring the higher intellectual character of evangelical Christianity into prominence, yet at the same time their own minds were entangled in the externals of cultus and, as far as images are concerned, in the letter of the Old Testament law. And their comprehension of the Christian spirit and Christian revelation brought yet other results to light. They not only renounced all titles and honors, such as the University confers, with reference to the declaration of Jesus, that no one should be called rabbi or master, but Carlstadt and Zwilling also spoke contemptuously of human theological knowledge and learned Bible studies, applying here the words of Jesus, that God had hid these things from the wise and prudent and revealed them unto babes—that enlightenment must come by the Spirit from above. Carlstadt entered the houses of simple citizens to have Bible passages explained by them. He and Zwilling won to their view also the rector of the city boys'-school, which was hence discontinued. At the same time a certain congregational measure, which the magistrate granted, aimed at making peculiar social and civil changes. A common treasury, in which the income of the church should aggregate, was therefore appointed, in order to advance money without interest to needy mechanics, and to make loans at a reduced percentage to other citizens. On the other hand, care for souls was neglected, and especially no longer attended to in hospitals and prisons.

Here, the reform for which Luther's teachings were the foundation, proceeded in this course. And at the same time, soon after Christmas, there came to Wittenberg three men from Zwickau, who claimed to be the first to have properly received the divine Spirit, and to have been called to carry on God's work. They were the cloth weaver Nicholas Storch, the former Wittenberg student Marcus Stuebner, and another cloth-maker, to whom the theologian, Martin Cellarius, had now also with great zeal joined himself. They boasted of prophetic visions, dreams, direct communications with God, etc., etc. Even Scripture was to them an ordinary matter as compared with such signs. Infant

baptism they rejected, believing that it did not, and could not, communicate the Spirit. Communion with God and their intercourse with him they desired not to reach by that faith, which, as Luther taught, apprehends humbly what God's Word offers unto our conscious mind and heart, but in a mystical process of turning away from everything external, sentient, finite, and personal, until the soul becomes fixed in the one divine Existence. This same apparently lofty and pure spirit, however, broke forth fanatically in the announcement and demand of a universally external revolution, in which all priests should be slain, all sinners destroyed, and God's saints should erect their kingdom.

These revelations had begun at Zwickau, doubtless influenced by Bohemia, as these places were bound together with fanaticisms of the Middle Ages. There Thomas Münzer, from Stolberg-on-the-Harz, who had been appointed as pastor of one of the churches, stood at the head, altogether the most important and the most dangerous personage in this fellowship. He would no longer tolerate the Christians; as little the existing civil government with its rights, as the clergy and the hierarchy; he spoke already of universal equality, and of community of goods. This new sensational style of preaching won speedy adherents, who spread this spirit of revelation more and more. Commotions also already threatened. But at the proper time the magistrate entered his vigorous interference. Hence, the first-named men left for Wittenberg, while Münzer rambled about elsewhere in Germany.

Carlstadt carried on his innovations, without any external union with them. But the close relation of his tendency with theirs cannot be ignored, which was more apparent in the further progress of the same. Melanchthon, with all the gentleness and purity of his spirit, did not possess enough manful self-dependence and energy to check the forces and passions aroused by Carlstadt. The Zwickau prophets, with their revelations, were distasteful to him; he did not undertake to form a decided judgment concerning this suddenly manifested new appearance.

Luther, on the other hand, very quietly and coolly received the intelligence from that quarter. He was astonished at the timidity of his friend, who was his superior in mind and attainments. He did not find it difficult to test these spirits according to the standards furnished by the New Testament Scriptures. As

much as he had hitherto heard of their manner of speech and course of action, it contained nothing but what Satan could furnish or imitate. No stress is to be laid on what they profess inwardly to enjoy of lovely, devout experiences—though they should avow having been transported to the third heaven. The majesty of God will not condescend to speak so familiarly with the old man, but he must first be dissolved before it, as before a •consuming fire; where God speaks, the word becomes true: “As a lion, so he broke all my bones” (Isa. xxxviii. 13.) Nor did he favor overcoming them by means of prisons and external force; assured that they should be subdued without blood or sword and be made a derision.

But his cares in behalf of the congregation at Wittenberg, and the vexation caused by Carlstadt, left him no more rest; for no description can ever adequately set forth the practices there. He was thus greatly distressed, while knowing that especially reproach must result to the Gospel. As early as January it brought him back again to Wittenberg. He was also now applied to with reference to it by the magistrates. The Elector endeavored in vain to dissuade him from whom protection had been withdrawn, from venturing into society. In addition to this, the imperial troops in Nürnberg, which represented the absent emperor, had demanded strict suppression of the Wittenberg innovations at the order of Frederick.

Without permission, Luther departed from the Wartburg on the 1st of March. Of his journey we now know only that he passed through Jena and the city of Borna, situated south of Leipsic. A young Swiss, John Kessler, from St. Gall, who was then, with another, on his way to the University of Wittenberg, has left us a very entertaining account of their meeting with Luther at the inn of the “Black Bear,” situated near the gate of Jena. They there found a single cavalier sitting at the table, wearing, according to the custom of the country, a little red slouched hat, with merely trousers and jerkin (having laid off his cloak), a sword at his side, with the right hand resting on the knob and the other taking hold of the hilt. Before him there was lying a little book. He asked these timid youths, in a friendly manner, to take seats by his side, and began talking with them about the studies at Wittenberg, about Melancthon and other scholars, also of what people in Switzerland thought of Luther.

Amid such conversation they gained familiarity, insomuch that the other Swiss soon took up the little book and opened it, when he discovered it to be a Hebrew Psalter. He defrayed their expenses for supper, in which two merchants also joined them, and captivated all by means of sober, friendly conversation. "Afterwards he drank with the Swiss another friendly draught as a blessing," offered his hand for parting, and requested them to pay his respects in Wittenberg to their countryman, Lawyer Schurf, in the words, "He who is to come greets you." The host, recognizing Luther, informed the guests. Early next morning the merchants met Luther again at the stable, but he mounted and galloped away.

In Borna, where he could stop with an officer of his Elector's, he hastily wrote a long letter to the latter, in answer to a dissuasive letter from the prince, which he had received the evening before his departure. He did not mean to apologize nor beg pardon, but merely to satisfy his "most gracious lord," and strengthen his faith. Never before had he spoken with greater assurance of what he was called to do, nor with a more quiet and joyful, bold and lofty confidence with reference to that which was imminent, where he was to undergo conflict and danger according to two opposite aspects, and where he would be altogether dependent upon himself and his God as shown in his resolutions and hopes. "I make my journey to Wittenberg," he writes to Frederick, "under a protection infinitely more powerful than the Elector's; yea, I maintain that I could protect your Electoral Highness more than you could protect me. God must here do His work without the care or aid of man; hence, he who believes best, is best protected. The question as to what the Elector should do in his behalf he answered by saying: "Nothing at all." He must let the imperial government rule without resistance or obstacle in his own countries, if he (Luther) should be taken or put to death; it is not expected, indeed, that the prince himself be made his jailor; if he leaves the gates open and furnishes free escort to those desiring to take him (Luther), he will then have rendered obedience and given satisfaction.

Without the least fear Luther rode on, even over the territory of Duke George, now most hostile to him and the Wittenbergians. Moreover, he arrived among his friends at Wittenberg unhurt, encouraged and happy, on the evening of the 6th of March.

In the morning of the following Saturday the two Swiss, while paying their respects to Schurf, found him sitting with the latter and Melanchthon, Jonas and Amsdorf—engaged in conversation. His physical appearance at that time Kessler describes thus: "When I saw Martin in the year 1522, he was considerably stout, of upright bearing, bending more backwards than forwards, with elevated countenance, and deep, black eyes sparkling and flashing like a star, penetrating into the very soul of the beholder."

CHAPTER III.

LUTHER'S APPEARANCE AND NEW ACTIVITY IN WITTENBERG, 1522.

UPON a certain Thursday Luther again arrived at Wittenberg. The following Sunday already he appeared again in his old pulpit before his city congregation. He sought to instruct them with clear and plain, earnest and friendly evangelical words concerning the errors into which they had fallen, and attempted to lead them back again to the truth. He continued preaching thus for eight days in succession.

The truths and principles which he had proclaimed are the same which we heard him express already from the Wartburg, and ever since the beginnings of his reformatory work. Most of all were they admonitions of love according to which believing Christians should act towards each other, as God treated them in His love, which they enjoy by faith. "Here, beloved friends," he said, "it is indeed where I find you far from the mark, and can no longer trace in any of you this charity, noticing well that you were ungrateful to God. I plainly perceive that you talk much of doctrine preached unto you, of faith and love, and no wonder—a donkey can almost learn to sing a lesson—should you not therefore speak and teach these doctrines or these words? But the kingdom of God consists not in speeches or words, but in deeds, in works, in practices." He taught them to discriminate between the essential and that which was optional, which might or might not be held. But charity must be practiced also with reference to that which is essential, since no one is driven into it by force; but one must let the Word of God operate upon the hearts of the erring and weak, and pray for them. Things that are free must be left free, giving no offence thereby to the weak, but insist on liberty over against unchristian tyrants.

Luther thus penetrated his congregation with the power and fervor of his word, and again obtained control of the movements of the church. Zwilling allowed himself to be corrected. Carlstadt was next to retract quietly, although grudgingly. Luther

urgently requested him not to publish anything hostile, thus precipitating controversy upon him. In his sermons he avoided every personal allusion. Of the innovations there remained only this, that in the service of the Mass those words were omitted which referred to the sacrifice of the body of Christ by the priest. These were regarded as absolutely objectionable and anti-Christian by Luther also, but however important they were in themselves, they were not observed by the weak and simple, inasmuch as they were in Latin and were read in a low pitch of voice. The Lord's Supper was again distributed to the masses according to one form—with the cup for the laity to such who demanded it, and at a separate table. Hence, the time soon arrived when the celebration according to the latter mode became of itself the universal custom, the other having given way. Concerning robes at the divine service, the reception with one's own hands of the elements in the Lord's Supper, and other similar things, Luther held them to be of too little importance to be much occupied with them, although offence might thereby be given to the weak adherents of the old form. Luther himself took up his home again in the cloister, resumed a monastic life, and observed again the established lenten customs. It was not till two years after this that he permanently laid aside his monastic dress, when his cowl was altogether worn out, and he was presented with a good piece of cloth by the Elector to be made into a new suit of clothes.

Those Zwickau prophets were suddenly absent from Wittenberg when Luther returned. A few weeks afterward Stuebner and Cellarius appeared before Luther. The pride and fury with which they demanded faith in their higher authority, and the rage with which they foamed when he ventured to contradict them, were proof to him of what spirit they were. He further spoke of it to Spalatin: "I have caught them even in open falsehoods, when they sought to escape by miserable, smooth words. I finally requested them to establish their doctrine by miracles, of which they boasted contrary to Scripture. They, however, declined, but boasted that I must some time believe them; whereupon I warned *their* God, not to work a miracle against the will of *my* God. Thus we separated." They then left the city permanently, without having found a foothold there.

Thus Luther, who according to the reproach of his enemies had broken down all churchly order, herewith introduced his practical

reformatory activity in that he checked the fury of others by virtue of his own positive and clear principles, and was wholly bent on the actual edification of the church. The preacher of pardoning and saving faith in his practical church relations, he insisted above all on charity, which must prove itself in the practice of liberty. This strong man of the people had opposed, without any regard to general opinion, what had become the popular tendency. Under the influence of his preaching the emperor could well permit matters to develop in Wittenberg and its vicinity. Frederick no less permitted the neighboring bishops to oppose the new doctrine by making visits within the bounds of his provinces, only he denied them the assistance of governmental compulsion and secular power. Truth itself was left to break its own way.

At the same time, Luther felt constrained, after his return, forthwith to declare himself to all German Christendom as to his entire position, unlimited by the barriers which confined his sentiment during his sojourn at the Wartburg. This he did by means of a circular letter, intended for the public, sent to Knight Hartmuth of Kronberg, near Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was a son-in-law of Sickingen, he was a man of faithful, honest and Christian intentions, and had published a few small treatises that met Luther's approbation. Luther desired "to visit him in spirit, and tell him of his joy" by this circular letter. He took occasion herein to express himself partly in reference to the conflict in which he was engaged at Wittenberg, partly with respect to the hostility of those who were of Romish tendency, but which the Gospel tolerated within the German nation. "The cunning game," which satan there in Wittenberg had started to bring reproach upon the Gospel, he conceived to be more dangerous to the faith than the snares of such enemies. "All my foes," he says, "never struck me as I am now struck by our friends, and I must acknowledge that they sadly affect my very heart. 'Here I will dishearten Luther' thought the devil, 'and bring down his buoyant hopes, for this trick he will neither understand nor be able to overcome.'" But he spoke undauntedly of the grievous "sin at Worms," as he would of course not have been able to do at the Wartburg, "where divine truth was so childishly disdained, so publicly, maliciously, knowingly, and without trial, condemned." He maintained that it was a sin of all Germany that the leader had done thus, and that no one interfered at the unholy Diet. He up-

braided himself for allowing his ardor to be cooled in obedience to the wishes of good friends, lest he should appear stubborn-minded, and for not making a stronger and severer confession before the tyrants, although he was still regarded as haughty in his answers by those unbelieving heathen. He expressed himself as follows concerning one of those "miserable enemies:" "One of them is like the bubble N., defies heaven with a high crest, and has renounced the Gospel; he is also inclined to devour Christ as the wolf would a fly," etc., etc. This was an unmistakable reference to Duke George, whose strict churchly consciousness was especially aroused by the dangerous influences which threatened his country from the direction of the adjacent Wittenberg, and who had also recently made severe complaints about the elector Frederick. In a copy of the circular letter his name was also directly used. George afterwards demanded satisfaction, but the matter was delayed without the desired result. Concerning himself Luther remarked to Hartmuth that he was again at Wittenberg, but did not know how long he should remain. He told him of that portion of his Church-postil which was even then being issued. He informed him more especially that he had undertaken to translate the Bible into German. This he said he was obliged to do in order to banish the conceit of being a learned man.

Luther thrust himself again into the harness of labor in every branch of his calling. He again took up his academic lectures, his regular preaching in the city church, and indeed also a course of week-day sermons on whole books of the Bible. These sermons kept him employed later also, when, after the death of the aged pastor, Heins, for whom he had hitherto acted as supply, his friend Bugenhagen was the following year installed as pastor. He and Bugenhagen, henceforward until his death, were knit together in closest friendship and similar theological views, as also in their aiding each other in the service of the city congregation. In the spiritual aspect of Wittenberg of that day, Bugenhagen was now, as city pastor, a principal personage. Luther rendered the congregation and him most unselfish service and friendly assistance, and at the same time was busily employed in pastoral and confessional service.

In the busy season of Lent and Easter, 1522, Luther again resumed the service in the Wittenberg congregation, and directly after Easter he went also to Borna, Altenburg, Zwickau, and



**LUTHER CONTINUES HIS TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE WITH THE
ASSISTANCE OF MELANCHTON. 1523-4.**

Eilenburg, where there was demand for his preaching, and where he was engaged also in the establishment of an evangelical ministry. His main destination, indeed, was Zwickau, where his preaching was wholly to check the effects of fanaticism. It is said that at this time, according to the report made by an electoral officer, not less than twenty-five thousand people came flocking together to hear the sermons of Luther, who addressed the assembled multitudes below from the town hall. In Bornä, he preached before the Bishop of Merseburg, held a visitation there, and again on the day succeeding it. The following autumn he held several services in Weimar, whither he was called by John, the brother of Frederick the Wise, and by the congregation at Erfurt, to whom he had, during the summer, also directed an instructive and admonitory letter with reference to the innovations.

His literary activity in Wittenberg, as we have seen in the letter to Kronberg, was above all turned to the Bible. In company with Melancthon, and assisted by the advice of other friends, he undertook a revision of his translation of the new Testament. The first printed sheets of this he forwarded to Spalatin, on the 10th of May, with the title: "Foretaste of our New Bible." The publication was so rapid, with the aid of three presses, that the work was issued in September. The 21st of September, St. Matthew's day, is known as the birthday of our German New Testament. As early as December it became necessary to publish a second edition, although the price of the book—one and a half florins—was high under the existing circumstances. Many thousands of persons throughout all Germany, who had formerly learned through Luther to know the "pure Word of God" from the ecclesiastical decrees, and to reverence it in contrast to them, eagerly and gratefully sought after it. No means were more potent to extend the doctrines dependent upon the Holy Word, and to make them the actual possession of the hearer and reader, than the circulation of this volume. So much the greater was also the danger which the adherents to ecclesiastical authorities and traditions recognized in it. A correct account is given with reference to both sides, in what one of Luther's severest contemporaneous opponents, the theologian Cochläus, says: "Luther's New Testament was multiplied by the publishers in a marvelous manner, so much so that soon cobblers and women, and every layman in the least acquainted with the German Scriptures, read it most

eagerly as the source of all truth, and stamped it upon their memory by repeated reading. By this means they professed to have acquired within a few months so much knowledge as to venture into dispute concerning faith and the Gospel, not only with the Catholic laity but also with the doctors of sacred theology. Luther indeed had long before taught that Christian women also were truly priests, and any one who had been baptized, as much as were pope, bishop and priest. The mass of Lutherans applied themselves much more diligently to reading the newly-translated Scriptures than did the Catholic people, among whom this business is left chiefly to the priests and monks." Catholic governments commanded it to be delivered over and confiscated. Besides, haste was made in trumping up a host of pretended errors and adulterations in this new translation. Most of them, however, were deviations only from the false Latin version. Cochläus advanced the specific objection to the translation that it contained the introduction to the Lord's Prayer, contrary to the form of the universal and united German church and also to the original text, viz.: in "Our Father in Heaven," instead of "Father our (Pater noster), who art in heaven." And when Emser, a few years later, issued a translation of the New Testament, in opposition to Luther's, it was noticeable that he had largely transcribed it and merely changed it according to the old Latin version.

While the New Testament was still in press, Luther earnestly set himself to work upon the Old. This was more difficult, on account of the language; yet Luther had, indeed, long since practised in Hebrew with eager delight, and a new colleague of Luther's could now render assistance in it, viz., Aurogallus, called principally for the instruction in Hebrew. The five books of Moses were ready for the press even before Christmas, and which were soon issued by themselves. In the year 1524, there followed two small parts, in which were contained the Canonical Books (according to our present order) as far as the Song of Solomon, while the work on the Prophecies was protracted, among other interrupting labors, for several years longer.

It may be inferred, from the above mentioned circular letter, that Luther, moreover, did not cease to carry on his aggressive warfare against Rome. Later indulgences gave especial occasion, and other measures of German bishops against the innovations, such as the abolition of celibacy, the violation of Lenten rules.

etc., etc. For this reason, churchly inquests were therefore held also by the bishops of Mayence and Merseburg, similar to that already alluded to in Luther's journey to Zwickau.

Following Luther's sermons against that false use of liberty, there came from his pen, on the other hand, a brief monograph entitled: "On Avoiding Human Doctrines." "He did not mean thereby to serve, as he said, those sacrilegious, immodest characters; but to the poor, humble consciences, ensnared by monastic vows and decrees, he desired to preach Christian liberty, that they might direct their consciences how to conform to God and escape peril, and how to use such liberty modestly." He declared irreconcilable war against the present Roman episcopacy in his production entitled: "Against the Falsely-called Spiritual Condition of the Papacy and the Bishops." He, who had been robbed of his title by papal and imperial disfavor, and from whom the "beastly character," i. e., "the mark of the beast" (Rev. xiii. 16) "had been removed by the papal bulls, here arrayed himself against the papal bishops" as "the preacher, by the grace of God, at Wittenberg."

Luther's further writings against the Roman church and dogma have not the same weight for us as had his earlier productions, since in these his own ecclesiastical view is not carried on and continued into the fuller development, as in those others. In the most fervent language his indignation is now especially poured forth, because he and the truth he represented had been condemned so rashly and wickedly without trial, unheard without being conquered.

Concerning the attack which he made in the above-mentioned production upon the "Episcopal Hypocrites," Luther remarked on the 26th of July to Spalatin, that he was so severe therein purposely, since he saw how vainly he had humbled himself, yielded, supplicated and entreated. And he added, that he would now flatter the King of England just as little.

King Henry VIII., therefore, who afterwards broke away so forcibly from the Roman Church for other reasons, and instituted reforms according to his own view, had then won the title of "Defender of the Faith," from the pope, by means of a scholastically learned production against Luther's "Babylonian Captivity." It produced such a stir that Luther deemed it advisable to reply to it in a particular production. This work, originally

written in Latin, enters with well-directed execution into doctrinal topics, and further confirms what Luther had written in his book now assailed. It marks the general opposition of the aspects which then of course admitted of no further agreement, in this, that Luther contended for liberty and was establishing it, whereas the king contended for captivity, giving no reasons, but constantly speaking only of that in which it consisted, and that one must remain in it; that is, he is constantly repeating throughout his entire book the points of ecclesiastical authority, of the councils, of tradition, etc., etc., with the presumption that no one should dare to deviate from these. Luther says that to know this he had no need of instruction from the king. The personal language which Luther here employs against the king, exceeds even what we might expect after his declaration to Spalatin. And this is still more the case with a German production of his, which followed a translation of the king's work into German. Moreover, the king had employed language equally coarse and insulting. Luther did not fear to make a side allusion to other princes also. He says, King Henry must help to prove the proverb that there are no bigger fools than kings and princes."

According to its contents, the most important production, however, among the works which Luther was induced to write in opposition to the Roman Church, her doctrines, and hostile proceedings, was a work on secular government, which he began in December, as soon as he had completed the translation of the five books of Moses. It appeared then under the title: "Of Secular Government; How Far it Must be Obeyed."

To what extent must its authority be obeyed? This was a question in the face of commands and penal threats, with which the Catholic princes now tendered their services to the hierarchal power for the suppression of the Gospel, of the reformatory writings, and especially of the Bible. It raised the question to what extent in general its right and jurisdiction extended over Christians.

But Luther at the same time no less severely interfered in behalf of their actual right, their divine commission and honor, over against apprehension. Words of Jesus like these were foremost: "Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." How does it, therefore, agree with this, that government proceeds with power against the evil,

and beareth the sword against evil-doers? The church and scholasticism of the Middle Ages maintained with reference to this, that these words form no universal, moral command for Christians, but merely direction for such among them as desired to attain to greater perfection; and hence the entire civil order, with its government, was assigned a lower grade of common morals, while the higher morals or true perfection should be represented by the priestly office and monachism. On the other hand, friends of Luther had before already become concerned, since Jesus there directed his words absolutely to all his disciples, hence to all Christians, how still the right and duty of secular power upon Christians could be established.

Luther expressed himself on this second point first of all. He maintained those utterances of our Lord to be by all means commands for all Christians. They require every Christian, therefore, never to use power and the sword for his own sake; and were the world only full of proper Christians, then there would be no use whatever for the governmental sword either. But it is to be employed to secure the common good against evil-doers, to punish sin and maintain peace; and therefore the true Christian must be willing, in order to serve his fellow-man, to submit to the dominion of the sword, and to bear the sword himself, if God has given him some office. With these commands of Scripture agree also those other teachings, as, for example, the Apostle's: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. For the ruler is the minister of God to thee for good; for he beareth not the sword in vain." Rom. xiii. Luther, therefore, places governmental office on a par with other callings of moral life in the world. All of them, he says, are called of God, and shall and may serve God and man as well as the so-called ministerial office. These were fundamental deductions for a new Christian estimation of state, civil and secular life in general. Hence, the Augsburg Confession afterward rejected that doctrine, according to which Christian perfection was made to consist in withdrawing from secular life, and likewise the anabaptist doctrines, which forbade Christians from serving as civil officers or as soldiers.

But while Luther thus defined the duty of secular government, he at the same time fixed the limits of its jurisdiction, and guarded against its encroachments. The truly spiritual government,

which Jesus instituted, is intended to make man pious, inasmuch as it works upon the soul by means of the Word, in the power of the Spirit. Secular power, intended to bring external peace and to guard against the works of evil, is concerned only in "what is external upon the earth"—over body and property. "For God will not and cannot permit any one to rule over the soul but himself alone." "Nobody can or shall be compelled to believe." The proverb is true: "Thoughts are untaxable." We must obey God rather than men, as Peter declares: hence, secular power has its limits. Luther knew the objection made, that secular power did not mean to force faith upon any one, but merely meant externally to guard against heretics, in order that these might not deceive the people with false teachings. But he answered: "That office is committed to bishops and not to princes. God's Word shall here contend. Heresy is an intellectual thing; it cannot be hewn with iron, nor burnt with fire." Luther classed the command to deliver up books, with invasions into the dominion and office of the Holy Word. In this case subjects shall obey God more than such tyrannical princes. They shall leave in this case also the power over that which is external to government: never may they oppose it violently: they shall suffer it, if anybody ransack their houses, and take books or goods away. But they shall not surrender a single page or letter of the Bible, if an attempt is made to take it from them.

These are the strongest and most incisive utterances concerning the separation of these departments, concerning the operation merely by Word and Spirit, concerning liberty of conscience, etc., etc., which we possess from the lips of our reformer. In how far those measures harmonized herewith, which he afterward nevertheless found admissible and ordered as a safeguard of evangelical congregations and evangelical truth against impostors, seems of course doubtful.

In these operations Luther spent the year of his return to Wittenberg.

CHAPTER IV.

LUTHER AND HIS REFORMATORY ACTIVITY IN OPPOSITION TO THE PAPACY UNTIL 1525.

WE have seen that Luther was able to prosecute his labors in Wittenberg, and from Wittenberg as a centre, unhindered by the edict. Throughout all Germany, indeed, the imperial authority allowed large opportunity for the dissemination of his doctrine. At the succeeding diets it was impossible longer to secure a majority in favor of the measures which the edict of the Diet of Worms demanded; and the results flowing from the public activity now resumed by Luther could but contribute to the same result.

The new pope, Hadrian VI., indeed, although zealously adhering to the scholastic doctrine of the Middle Ages and the authority of the church, by his honest acknowledgment of the corruption of the church, and by his earnest and stern personal character, awakened expectations of a revival within the Romish church distinguished by vigorous attempts at reform, at least in the direction of proper discipline among the clergy and monks, and the conscientious maintenance of ecclesiastical regulations. With this, even such men as Erasmus were satisfied. The latter now advocated the greatest severity in suppressing the Lutheran heresy and its innovations. He himself became a leader in the vulgar aspersion of the personal character of Luther, preferring the slanderous charges of drunkenness and profligacy which Romanists even to the present day attempt to revive. Hadrian doubtless believed these charges to be well founded, whilst Luther paid but little attention to such personal attacks, and in letters to Spalatin showed his contempt for Hadrian by designating him an ass. The pope further endeavored with great zeal, as so many Romish ecclesiastics have done since his day, to impress upon the princes that contempt of the papal decrees and of the leaders of the church would undermine all respect for civil authority.

But the diet held at Nurnberg in the winter of 1522-23, responded to the urgent appeals of the pope by presenting anew

the old grievances of the German nation, and by demanding upon their part a free Christian Council to be held in Germany.

An unfortunate military enterprise, also, which Sickingen at that time undertook against the Archbishop of Treves, in which, though contending for his own aggrandizement and the advantage of the German nobility, he professed it to be his object to open the way for the Gospel, did not result so disastrously for the Evangelical party in the empire as its enemies had hoped. Sickingen succumbed indeed to the superior forces of the allied princes, and died of his wounds; but it was perfectly clear to all that Frederick the Wise and his evangelical theologian had nothing to do with the exploit of the knight. Luther said, when he heard of Sickingen's enterprise: "That will be a right ugly business;" and when the result was reported to him: "The judgments of God are just, but wonderful."

The following diet, from which Clement VII., Hadrian's successor, a modern pope after the style of Leo X., again demanded the execution of the Edict of Worms, resulted in the edict of April 18th, 1524, which provided that the estates should execute the decree of Worms "as far as possible," but that the Lutheran and other new doctrines should first be "examined with the greatest diligence," and, together with the former grievances, be laid before the demanded council. Luther, indeed, at once noted only the essential inconsistency of this, and in a pamphlet indignantly pronounces it a disgrace for emperor and princes to publish self-contradictory laws, demanding that he be treated according to the Edict of Worms, i. e., regarded and persecuted as one already condemned, whilst as yet the character of his teaching, as good or bad, is declared to be a matter for examination. But it was really a turn of affairs in which the execution of the edict was practically evaded. Even in Nürnberg itself, under the very eye of the diet, the Lord's Supper was allowed to be celebrated according to the method of the reformers. Surely Frederick the Wise was justified in the hope that harmony might be gradually and peaceably attained in the acceptance of the truth as he recognized it in the preaching of Luther.

The absent Emperor indeed was entirely unaffected by such influences. In his Netherland dominions the severest penalties were being enforced. In a proclamation to the German Empire he condemned the resolutions of Nürnberg. Like Hadrian, he

compared Luther to Mohammed. A minority of the German princes, prominent among whom were Frederick of Austria and the Dukes of Bavaria, now formed a league at Ratisbon, to secure the execution of the Edict of Worms, whilst at the same time sanctioning certain ecclesiastical reforms, in so far as these were now countenanced by the pope himself. They also began to persecute and punish the heretics.

The seed of Luther's sowing began thus to germinate throughout all Germany. The number of preachers adopting the views of Luther increased, and they were much sought after. Even Cochleus was compelled to acknowledge that, however evil their final designs, they yet manifested a remarkable unselfishness and diligence in their calling, shunning even the appearance of disorderly and violent intrusion, always awaiting a call from noble patrons or congregations. Among the publications bearing upon the ecclesiastical and religious questions with which Germany was flooded during these years, the Lutheran outnumbered the Romish at least ten to one. The latter complained that they could no longer find competent printers willing to serve them.

Among the nobility who attached themselves to Luther, the latter found special satisfaction in the accession of Albert of Mansfeld, one of the dukes of his native province. The movement in Austria was led mainly by the nobility.

It was in the German cities, however, that the evangelical doctrine now struck root most deeply, especially among the populace of the free imperial cities. Evangelical ministers were called, where such were not already found, and, as a first step, the Mass abolished. This occurred in the years 1523 and 1524 in Magdeburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Swabian, Halle, Nürnberg, Ulm, Strasburg, Breslau, and Bremen. In Saxony, also, the city congregations led the way, as Zwickau, Altenburg, and Eisenach. Personal friends of Luther were largely interested in the movement, and cultivated further personal relations with him. For sometime already he had trusted associates in Nürnberg. His friend Amsdorf became pastor at Magdeburg. Hess, the first evangelical pastor at Breslau, had a few years previously formed an ardent friendship with him and Melancthon at Wittenberg. Link, his old friend, and Staupitz's successor in the vicariate of the Order, accepted a call to Altenburg, whence he was in 1525 recalled to the same office at Nürnberg, where he had formerly resided.

Whenever Luther received intelligence of evangelically-disposed communities which appeared to have special need of encouragement or comfort in their perplexities, he addressed special letters to them, which were then printed and more widely distributed. He wrote thus to Esslingen, Augsburg, Worms, and also to the "Dear Friends of Christ" in Wittenberg, against whom violence had been employed by the Romish party, and in whose behalf Luther at once appealed to Archbishop Albert. He took especial delight in greeting the "Elect dear friends of God" at Riga, Reval, and Dorpat; and sent them an exposition of the 127th Psalm.

The Word, which was repelled and condemned by the bishops and priests in Germany, met with a quite peculiar fortune beyond the eastern districts of the German empire, among the knights of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The Grand Master of the Order, Albert of Brandenburg, brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, and cousin of the archbishop and cardinal of the same name, had communicated with Luther by letter and in person, took counsel with him and Melancthon, and made himself familiar with the gospel and the ecclesiastical principles of the evangelical party. And here, above all, were two bishops who embraced the new doctrine, endeavored to nourish their flocks as genuine evangelical bishops or overseers, according to Luther's principles, and devoted themselves especially to the service of the Word in preaching and pastoral care, namely, George of Polentz, from 1523 Bishop of Samland, and Erhard of Queisz, from 1524 Bishop of Pomerania. Almost all members of the order were in sympathy with them. They resolved to restore a secular principality in Prussia, and to renounce their vow of "false chastity and spirituality." The King of Poland, who had long exercised supreme authority in Prussia, on the 10th of April, 1525, solemnly invested the Grand Master with the office of Hereditary Duke of Prussia.

Prussia was thus the first territory which, as a whole, accepted the Reformation, whilst even in the Electorate of Saxony no general measures for its promotion had as yet been adopted. It became, in other words, the first Protestant country. Luther wrote to the new Duke: "I rejoice greatly that God Almighty has so graciously and marvellously advanced your princely grace to such dignity, and sincerely wish that the same merciful God

may continue his favor to your princely grace to a happy personal end, and for the prosperity of the entire land." He held him up as an example to Archbishop Albert; as an example worthy of imitation, saying of him: "How excellently and graciously hath God ordered this great change, which ten years ago could not have been hoped for nor believed, though ten Isaiahs or Pauls had announced it; but as he gave liberty and honor to the gospel, so has it given him in return more liberty and honor than he could have wished."

The cause of the gospel now won its first martyrs. With joyous confidence Luther beheld and pointed to the grace of God granted them—not without humble expressions of pain, that he had not yet been found worthy of such honor. In the imperial hereditary domains, where for years already eminent members of the Order had been active in following the convictions received in Wittenberg, or through the influence of Wittenberg, two young Augustinian monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were publicly burned as heretics. Luther, therefore, addressed a circular letter to "The Beloved Christians in Holland, Brabant and Flanders," praising God for his wonderful light, which He had again caused to break forth. Of still greater influence was a hymn which he composed in commemoration of the young martyrs, and which doubtless first appeared as a tract:

"Ein neues Lied wir heben an," etc.

Luther was furthermore most deeply moved by the death of his fellow-friar, Henry Moller, of Zütphen, who had been compelled to flee from the Netherlands, had then labored for a season attended with the divine blessing in Breslau, and was now, December 11th, 1524, most cruelly murdered by a mob excited by monks in Ditmar, in the neighborhood of Meldorf, whither he had gone upon the invitation of some friends of the cause. Luther announced to the Christian brethren in a pamphlet the end of this "fortunate brother" and "Evangelist." He classes him with the two Brussels martyrs, also with the confessor, Caspar Tauber, executed in Vienna, a book merchant named George, burned at Pesth, and the latest victim, then just committed to the flames in Prague, and says of them: "It is these, and such as these, who shall drown in their blood the papacy with its god, the devil."

In promoting the work of the Reformation, which was now so

widely spread and enlisted so many colaborers, Luther no more cherished lofty plans for the formal establishment of a new church, than he had at any time thought of any outward organization for the struggle itself, of any outward union of those like-minded, or of any shrewdly arrayed propaganda, etc. As he trusted to the simple Word to gain the victory here, it was his simple aim in all his activity, that the congregations be again put in possession of the pure Word of God, gathered about it, and by it further edified, nourished and guided.

If this was denied to Christians in any place, Luther claimed for them, by virtue of the Universal Priesthood, the right to appoint for themselves a preacher of the Word, and thus avoid being led astray by the vain doctrine of men. He expressed himself upon this point especially in a writing of the year 1523, which was designed in the first place for the Bohemians, *i. e.*, for the so-called Utraquists, then numerous in Bohemia. The latter had really fallen out with the Romish church only on account of the denial of the cup to the laity, and did not entertain the thought of cutting themselves off from the so-called Apostolic episcopal succession of the Catholic church; but Luther at that time hoped, though vainly, to win them over to a genuine evangelical confession and church life. From the election of the pastors by the congregations, he was led to the position that an entire circle of such evangelical congregations may likewise appoint for themselves a superintendent to have general oversight, until finally an Archbishopric, evangelical in character, should be established for the entire national church. But controlled entirely by the necessities of the present, he never spoke of such an ecclesiastical organization for Germany. Here the congregations themselves were first to be gathered through the Word; and at the same time the hope was still cherished that the existing German episcopate might to a large extent, following the example of Prussia, adopt the evangelical principles. In regard to the single congregations, the opinion of Luther and his friends always was, that where the magistrates or individual church-patrons were well-disposed toward the Gospel, there the call to the pastorate should as heretofore proceed from them. A separation of the secular congregation, whose affairs were administered by the magistrate, from the ecclesiastical or religious, was a thought foreign to this whole period.

That the Word of God might be administered in the congregations with vigor and in purity, that they might become familiar with it, appropriate it, and through it be led to approach God with prayer, supplication and thanksgiving—such remained the sole aim of Luther in the arrangements which he made in Wittenberg and desired to introduce in other places. With this aim in view he advanced slowly in the changes in the order of public service, which, as he himself says, he had begun with hesitation and fear. "The entire Scriptures indicate," says he, "that the Word should have free course among Christians, and Christ himself says, Lk. x: One thing is needful, i. e., that Mary sit at the feet of Christ, and hear his Word daily. It is an everlasting Word. All else must pass away, though it keep Martha never so busy." As the great existing abuses in the public service of the church he indicates, that the Word of God is not proclaimed, whilst upon the other hand unchristian fables and lies have been introduced into the ecclesiastical lections, hymns and sermons, and such services are conducted as a work which is expected to merit the favor of God. He now made thorough work in the exclusion of these innovations. He desired, upon the other hand, that wherever possible the Word itself should be preached every morning and evening to the congregation, and on week days, at least to the scholars and others who might desire it. This was actually done in Wittenberg. He always avoided and warned against changes which did not seem to be demanded by these principles. He guarded most assiduously against the tendency to make of the new forms employed at Wittenberg a law for the Evangelical party in general. He explained them and justified their adoption in a pamphlet addressed to his friend Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau, "adjuring" the readers "most earnestly for Christ's sake," that whoever might have a better revelation in these matters should speak out for himself, maintaining that no one dare condemn or despise another on account of differing forms—that outward forms are indeed indispensable, but avail as little before God as do food or drink.

In order to lead the congregations themselves to an active participation in the services, he now desired genuinely German church-hymns, i. e., songs in pure popular language, verse and melody. Not crediting himself with sufficient talent, he requested friends to adapt psalms to this purpose. He himself nevertheless

led the way. His hymn upon the Brussels martyrs was born of a spontaneous, genuinely poetic impulse. It was, so far as known, his first poem, and was composed when its author was forty years old. Under similar poetic inspiration he very shortly afterward composed a hymn in praise of the "Supreme Favor" which God had shown towards us in giving his beloved Son :

"Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," etc.

The full tone of a vigorous, fresh, often rugged, then again exquisitely tender popular song, had at that time been struck by no one so fully as by Luther himself. As he desired, however, beyond this, to secure hymns specially for the use of the congregation in its public service, he himself now resorted to the Psalter, recasting it in evangelical spirit and in the true German tone.

There appeared thus at Wittenberg, in the beginning of the year 1524, a diminutive German hymn-book, which at first contained but eight hymns, one-half of them from the hand of Luther, *i. e.*, "Nun freut euch," and three psalms in verse. In the same year there appeared in further collections, twenty other hymns of Luther (including that upon the Brussels martyrs). This was notably the birth-year of evangelical hymnology. Already Luther began to find the desired co-laborers.

These twenty-four hymns of Luther were followed by but twelve in later years, among the latter his powerful "Ein feste Burg," which appeared in 1527. Very few were purely original compositions, the majority being based upon what was already in the possession and employed in the services of believers at large, and of the German Christians, especially upon psalms and other portions of Scripture, upon parts of the catechism, upon short German stanzas already familiar to the people, and upon old Latin hymns. As to contents, he always sought carefully for that which was strictly evangelical and adapted for the public service of the congregation. The poetic form and style, upon the contrary, are exceedingly varied, as he seeks now to give expression to the relation of the heart to God, now rather to clothe the words of the confession and the doctrine of the church in verse that may be sung—now follows more closely the form before him, now allows himself to handle with freedom its Christian contents and its poetic form. The most noble and vigorous example of the last-named method is seen in "Ein feste Burg."

The new hymns were carried abroad into the towns and the

open country, into churches and homes. Often more successfully than sermons could have done, they bore the message of evangelical truth into ears and hearts. They became weapons in strife, as well as means of edification and consolation.

In the preface to a small collection of hymns which Luther himself edited in that year, he remarked: "I do not think that all arts should be trampled under foot by the gospel and vanish before it, as some of the higher clergy maintain; but I long to see all arts, especially music, in the service of Him who hath given and created them." What he here says of music and poetry, was maintained by him also in regard to all noble sciences. He saw art and science threatened by the false spirituality of the fanatics, and laid special stress therefore upon their cultivation in the schools.

With great zeal he now sought to impress the universal duty of affording the youth good instruction and education, as he had long since done in his address to the nobility. The young above all, said he, must be snatched from the hands of Satan. He had in view, also, the establishment of schools for girls. In 1523 he suggested that the cloisters of the mendicants might be utilized as schools "for boys and girls." The same advice was given to the magistracy of Ulm by the above-mentioned Eberlin, at that time residing in Wittenberg.

Luther called particular attention to the fact that both the church and the state, or "secular government," require educated and suitably cultivated servants. Especially are, in his view, the old languages, Latin and Greek, indispensable for such equipment, and for the servants of the church, particularly the Greek and Hebrew, in which the Word of God was originally recorded for us. "Languages," said he, "are the sheath in which the blade of the Spirit is kept, the casket in which the jewel is borne, the vessel in which the beverage is preserved." Besides the languages, he specially commended the study of history, particularly that of the Fatherland. He lamented that so little had been done to preserve the history of Germany, whilst the Greeks, Latins and Hebrews had recorded theirs with such diligence. "O, how many excellent records and sayings ought we now to have, of what has happened in German countries, of which we now know nothing. Hence nothing is known of us Germans in other lands, and throughout the world we are called the German beasts, who can do nothing but fight and guzzle and gormandize." Such ex-

hortations were presented in 1524, in a circular letter addressed, "To the Councillors of all the cities of Germany, urging them to establish and maintain Christian schools."

The enthusiasm which had shortly before impelled the most talented and energetic youth to the study and imitation of the ancient classics, and attached them to the leaders of Humanism, had quickly subsided. The attendance at the universities had notably diminished. Enemies of Luther attributed this to the influence of his teaching, regardless of the fact that the deplorable condition of affairs was nowhere more marked than where his teachings were rejected. It is not surprising to us, that the Humanistic efforts, with their reference to formal culture and æsthetic enjoyment, and with their intellectual aristocracy, should be thrown into the background in presence of the agitation in regard to the highest questions and interests of life, which at that time excited the German nation and the church. The decline of academic studies was doubtless due also in large measure to the exciting and in part deceptive prosperity which attended commerce in those times of increasing intercourse and of great geographical discovery, and to the eagerness for material gain and enjoyment, which appeared more easily and quickly attainable through other channels than through learned toil and culture. It was these same conditions which gave rise to the complaints in regard to the great mercantile companies, the exaction of usury, advances in prices, luxury and extravagance, in which friends and foes of the Reformation united.

The Reformers were mindful of the debt which they owed to the Humanistic studies, and the permanent value of these for both church and state. In the new church constitutions of the cities and territory which accepted the doctrines of the gospel, the school system constituted a chief department. Nürnberg initiated the most active measures in the following years for the establishment of a well-equipped gymnasium. Luther himself went with Melancthon in April, 1525, to his birthplace, Eisleben, to render assistance to Count Albert of Mansfeld, in establishing a school. His friend, Agricola, became the first rector.

Luther was thus more occupied in building up and planting, than in contending with his old opponents. Well might he, as he sings in one of his hymns, welcome the spring flowers and look forward to a fruitful summer.

Upon the other hand, however, not only did the adherents of the old order of things combine more closely, and endeavor to satisfy to some extent the widespread complaints of ecclesiastical corruption, as, for example, the Imperial Estates at Ratisbon, in 1524; but even men who, with undeniably deep and earnest religious impulses, had at first appeared to be in sympathy with the labors and conflicts of the Reformers, now separated themselves from Luther and his associates, dreading to sunder the long-cherished ties of the church. Still more was this the case with men of Humanistic culture, who had been disposed to sympathize with Luther more for the defence of their sciences and arts, which were threatened by the spirit of the old monasticism, and from offence at the most shameful scandals of the clergy and monks, than from any real harmony with the fundamental religious efforts and ideas. Those also who in the great separation had been undecided, shrinking from it and the conflicts it entailed, now found abundant ground for increasing misgivings in some developments among the adherents of Luther. It was not to be denied, that despite Luther's vigorous opposition to the movement of the Wittenberg innovators, the new doctrine gave rise among the excited populace in many places to disturbance, disorder, and violence against obstinate monks and priests. These were seized upon as evidence of the consequences which must everywhere follow the severance of the ancient ties. That the monks and nuns who, in pursuance of the newly-announced liberty, forsook their cloisters, gave themselves up in great measure to the liberty of the flesh, as the Catholics charged, Luther himself declared with no less severity, calling to mind, however, at the same time, that they had been governed by the same low motives while in the cloisters, and that the cloisters themselves had been real promoters of gluttony. Luther was likewise much incensed, that the great multitude who would now no longer suffer themselves to be robbed of their money and property by the demands and deceptions of the papal church, refused also reasonable contributions toward the objects of Christian love and benevolence, whose claims were now so much the more pressing. At this early date already it became a general taunt of the opposers of the new doctrine, that the pretended saving faith bore so little good fruit. Finally, Luther's personal bearing in the conflict gave offence to many fair-minded men, and further, to many who

were glad of an excuse for refraining from the conflict. Alienation began thus early to prevail among those who had shared a general desire for improvement in the condition of the church and resistance of the Romish tyranny.

Among those who ceased to coöperate in the reformatory activity of Luther, his spiritual father, Staupitz, had been the most closely attached to him. At heart he remained so when abbot at Salzburg. Nothing however in all the external matters with which the reformation concerned itself, seemed to him of sufficient importance to justify the imperiling of religious peace and ecclesiastical harmony. Luther expressed to the latter the pain occasioned himself by this alienation, at the same time assuring him of unchanged affection and gratitude. Staupitz himself felt the situation to be a most unhappy one. In his position as abbot, however, and in the vicinity of the very differently disposed Archbishop of Salzburg, he yet taught the doctrine of the faith which seeks and attains salvation from God alone, and which is the root of all virtue. In the last year of his life he again wrote to Luther, commending to him a theological student who wished to pursue his studies in Wittenberg. In this letter he assures Luther of his unchanging love, which he declares is more than the love of woman, and acknowledges with gratitude that he had been led by his dearest Martin from the swine husks to the living pastures. Luther received the young man kindly, and aided him in procuring an early promotion to the degree of Master of Philosophy. This is the last that we know of the intercourse of the two friends. Staupitz died from a stroke of apoplexy, December 28th, 1524.

The former relationship between our reformer and the great Humanist Erasmus, on the contrary, was now exchanged for irreconcilable hostility. For a long time the latter had been unable to refrain from giving public and private expression to his dissatisfaction and exasperation at the tempest raised by Luther, which so distracted the church and interrupted quiet study. Exalted patrons, notably King Henry of England, urged him to conduct the defence of the church against Luther, and he was the less able to excuse himself, however distasteful to him the entrance upon such a conflict might be, inasmuch as others in the church now charged him with having been, through his earlier writings, one of the originators of the disastrous disturbances.

He selected a subject, in the discussion of which, in his assault upon Luther, he might express his own actual personal convictions, and at the same time might expect to harmonize not only with Romish zealots, but also with a multitude of his Humanist associates, and with many men of deeper moral and religious temper. As Luther in discussion with him had always maintained with prominence that he made too little account of the grace of God, which alone bestows salvation upon sinners, and the ability and power to do good, he now wrote against Luther upon "The Free Will," by means of which man yet may and should devote himself to piety and to securing salvation.

When Luther, in September, 1524, became acquainted with this publication, he found it strikingly weak. In its own apprehension of the acts of the will, it really wandered hither and thither in very indefinite propositions, evidently not only in consequence of great foresight and prudence, but because upon this field the keen-minded explorers of antiquity lacked accuracy and depth of observation and thought. Erasmus in this controversy publicly professes himself ready to submit to all decisions of the church, but without claiming the actual infallibility of an ecclesiastical tribunal. Throughout the entire discussion of his theme were scattered personal thrusts at his opponent.

Luther was willing, as he said, to reply to such a book, only from consideration of the respect in which the author was held, and was restrained by his aversion from the undertaking. Besides, we shall presently see what other concerns and duties occupied him at that time. It was only after the lapse of a year that his reply: "Of the Enslaved Will," appeared. In this he purposely developed and brought out into the greatest prominence the propositions which were offensive to Erasmus. The so-called free-will, he maintained, is really always held under the control of a higher power: in the case of unredeemed sinners, under the dominion of the devil; in the case of the redeemed, in the saving sanctifying, preserving hand of God. It is only through His almighty gracious will that salvation is secured to the latter. That other sinners do not turn to God and acquire saving faith in His Word, can only be attributed to a secret will of the same God, and for this man may not call God to account. In this, Luther went farther than the Evangelical church which bears his name was afterwards willing to go. He himself, also, in later

years avoided the discussion of such divine mysteries and allied questions, and warned against it. He always regarded Erasmus as a man who, of a superficial, worldly mind, was simply blind to the highest spiritual truth.

This dispute between Luther and Erasmus gave no new turn to the direction of things, nor brought about any further development in the conflict with the Catholic ecclesiasticism. Following their old master, however, others of the Humanists, who were the leaders in the general culture of the times, now cut loose from all fellowship with Luther, and in opposition to him attached themselves again firmly to the cause of the traditional ecclesiasticism. The most notable of these, next to Erasmus, was the above mentioned Pirkheimer in Nürnberg.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFORMER OPPOSING THE FANATICS AND PEASANTS UNTIL 1525.

IN the midst of all the conflicts, old and new, in which Luther was engaged, he keenly felt upon his return to Wittenberg what he wrote to Hartmuth of Kronberg: "None of all my enemies, however hardly they have pressed me, have struck me such a blow as our own people are now striking."

Carlstadt indeed remained silent at first, and until Easter 1523 quietly continued his academic lectures; but his inward inclination was towards a mysticism which was similar to that of the fanatics of Zwickau, and which, drawn as was the latter from writings of the Middle Ages, embraced also new ideas of practical reform based upon these.

He (Carlstadt) now began to develop in his writings the mystical ideas as to a true union of the soul with God. He also sought to explain how the souls of all creatures must become disengaged, and in perfect tranquility, inactivity, and passivity, be prepared for absorption in the deity. He renounced the pursuit of learning, and academic and ecclesiastic dignity, as a source of vanity. He purchased a small farm near Wittenberg, and moved upon it, that he might himself live as a layman and peasant. He attired himself as such, and associated with the other peasants as "Neighbor Andres." Luther saw him there standing in naked feet upon a heap of manure, which he was loading upon a wagon.

A new field for his peculiar activity was now found in Orlamund on the Saale, above Jena. The parish there was, as others, so closely connected with the University at Wittenberg, that its income was transferred to the latter, and it was particularly connected with the archdiaconate of the University church, which was combined with Carlstadt's professorship. The living there, with most of its income, had been transferred to this diaconate, but the pastoral office could be legally exercised only by settled ministers, called vicars, appointed by the Electors.

Carlstadt now took advantage of a vacancy in the office, went to Orlamund upon his own responsibility, and without renouncing

the appointment at Wittenberg with its emoluments, by means of sermons and personal influence attached the congregation to himself, and carried it along with him as he had previously succeeded in doing at Wittenberg. Images were again torn down and shattered, crucifixes and other representations of Christ no less than images of the saints. Carlstadt now publicly proclaimed that no respect was to be shown for any authority, nor were other congregations first to be consulted, but that they must freely, according to their own impulses, fulfil God's will, and hew down and destroy everything that was opposed to God. He also went to great extremes in his conception and application of the divine commandments. Should not the letter of the Old Testament be just as good a law for other things as for images? Accordingly, he now demanded that Sunday be observed as a day of rest, as in the Old Testament. This fell in with his idea of "inactivity," as aiding man to become one with God. He then very soon began to advocate polygamy, as permitted among the people of God in Old Testament times. He actually advised a citizen of Orlamund to take a second wife, while the first was yet living. It was at the same time that Carlstadt began to dispute the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper, which Luther had always strenuously maintained in his conflict against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. The interpretation of the words of Jesus at the institution of the Supper, with which he there started, was a strangely perverted one, whatever opinion may be held of the matter itself. According to his view, Jesus, in the words, "This is my body," employed as he distributed the bread, did not at all mean the bread, but only his body, standing before them, to which he pointed.

The citizens of the neighboring little town, Kahla, were infected with the same spirit. The mystical ideas and modes of speech assumed the strangest forms in the heads of the common people. Super-spiritual and vulgarly sensual elements were combined in the wildest confusion. Carlstadt also cultivated a secret correspondence with Münzer.

The questions as to the authority of the Old Testament were still more widely agitated. It was claimed that the recognized authority of the Scriptures should be exercised by them in their conflict with the papists. Should not the authority of the divine declarations of the Old Testament relating to the civil life

be maintained as well as against the traditional civil ordinances? From this point of view, for example, all paying and receiving of interest were forbidden, as they had been forbidden among the chosen people. The restoration of the Mosaic year of jubilee was contemplated, according to which all alienated lands should revert to the original owners every fifty years. Such new, attractive ideas of social reform were enthusiastically accepted by the people. Pastor Strauss of Eisenach, distinguished for his zeal in the gospel, was especially active by word and deed in this new movement. A court preacher of Duke John, Wolfgang Stein in Weimar, also enlisted in it.

Meanwhile Münzer returned to Middle Germany. He managed about Easter 1523 to secure a living in Allstedt, a village in one of the valleys of Unstrut, now called Weimarsche Enclave. The spirit of the Zwickau prophets was fermenting in him as in no other, and was preparing for violent outbreak. Alone in the chamber of a church tower he held secret dialogues with his God, and boasted of the response and revelations which he there received. He also attached to himself others, who had dreams and visions which he then interpreted. His aspect and bearing were those of a man whose soul was indeed perfectly tranquil, released from the finite, entirely open to the Spirit and inner Word of God. With yet greater vehemence than the defenders of Catholic asceticism, he charged Luther with leading an easy, sensual life. His entire activity had in view the final establishment of an outward kingdom of saints, with outward authority and in outward glory. His preaching always led to the conclusion that the ungodly and especially tyrants must be dispersed and destroyed. Of the commandments of the Old Testament, he wished to see a literal application, especially of those instructions in the Pentateuch, in which the people of God are bidden to drive out all the heathen nations of the promised land, tear down their altars, and burn their idols. He held it to be an essential feature of the kingdom of God, that all goods be held in common, and dealt out to each member according to his need. Every prince or ruler who would not consent to this was to be beheaded or hung. Münzer meanwhile endeavored, by means of secret emissaries sent out in all directions, to win the saints in general to a secret league. His chief associate was the former monk, Pfeifer, in Mühlhausen, adjacent to Allstedt. The congregation at Orla-

mund, however, which he also sought to win for his violent project, refused to enter into fellowship with him in this matter.

The Elector Frederick was very loth to employ his civil power in the affairs and discussions of the church, and Luther himself would not sanction this, so long as it was merely an intellectual struggle in behalf of the truth. Duke John was himself very deeply moved by the ideas of his court preacher. The princes still hoped to restore harmony between Luther and his mentally-confused but yet theologically influential colleague, Carlstadt.

Carlstadt did, indeed, at Easter 1524, quietly resume the discharge of his duties in the University at Wittenberg, but soon returned again to his congregation at Orlamund, announcing himself there as head and reformer of the church.

Luther's opinion in the question as to the Mosaic and civil laws was now requested by Duke John's son, John Frederick. It is easily understood that this question should give occasion for serious thought and inward wavering, even to sincere and peacefully inclined adherents of the evangelical doctrines. It was new, and seemed to arise in inseparable connection with the latter; whatever the answer might be, there must follow a subversion of all civil and social ordinances, as required by divine law.

Luther's judgment in the matter and his expression of that judgment were perfectly clear. For him the solution was already given in the fundamental idea of the evangelical doctrine. It lay in that distinction between the civil or worldly sphere and the inward, moral and religious—or between the spiritual and temporal authority which he had already with all clearness announced as fundamental, especially in his discourse published in 1523, "Of the Temporal Authority." The New Testament revelation of salvation, or the general biblical revelation in its completeness, relates to the life of the soul in God, its reconciliation and salvation, its relation to God and man in faith and love. The appointment of the legal forms by which the outward life of the community is to be regulated, needing no special revelation, has been left by God to the practical understanding and the necessities of men and the historical development of nations and states under the guidance of his providence. It is the duty of the temporal authority to execute the existing laws and according to its best judgment to develop them still further in the legally appointed way. That God established through the mouth of

Moses outward civil ordinances for the nation of Israel, was a result of his special educational purposes with that nation. Christians are no more bound by these, than are their inward life and right conduct in general, conditioned upon outward ordinances and forms. It is only the moral commandments that belong to the eternally binding contents of the Mosaic law, to whose fulfillment the Spirit of God now impels believers, and which Paul says, have from the beginning been written upon the hearts of men. That part of the law of Moses which regulates civil life may indeed contain many provisions which it would be greatly to the advantage of other nations to adopt; but in that case, it is the province of the existing civil authority to exercise its judgment and borrow from this source just as civil ordinances have been received from the Romans.

This is the view which Luther yet further clearly and consistently expounded in his writings and sermons. In maintaining it he protected the civil authority against an unauthorized intermingling of religious ideas and biblical authorities, just as he had before defended it against the encroachments of an ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the same time he protected the Christian religious life against the dangerous corruptions which threatened it from the same source. He now promptly responded to the request of the Prince (June 18, 1524): Civil laws are an outward thing, like eating and drinking, *clothing* and *dwelling*. At the present time the imperial laws are to be obeyed, under which happily, faith and love can exist very well. Should the "*Moses drivers*," i. e. the zealots for the Mosaic law, ever become emperor and gain the control of the world, they will be at liberty to accept the legislative system of Moses; but Christians must always abide by the laws which their government maintains.

In Münzer, Luther anticipated an early outbreak of the evil spirit. He mentioned him in a writing of June 18th, called him the "Satan at Allstedt, yet unrecognized only because not yet full-fledged. Before long he heard more of him, i. e., that "the same spirit is about to employ personal violence." In regard to this he wrote in the following month to Elector Frederick and Duke John, giving his letter also to the press. Even now he did not desire that Münzer should be restrained from speaking, although preaching against and slandering him. On the contrary he advised: "Just let them preach away as hard as they

can. Let the spirits slap and pound one another. No doubt some people will be led astray; but never mind, that is the fortune of battle. Where there is strife and slaughter some must fall and be wounded." He repeats here also that anti-Christ is to be destroyed without violence, and that Christ contends with the Spirit of his mouth. But should these disturbers actually strike with the fist, then he would have the princes say: "Keep the fist quiet, for that is our office, or quit the country."

In August Luther himself came to Weimar at the desire of the princes. He secured a friendly understanding with the court preacher. Münzer had just left Allstedt, an official report in regard to his dangerous doings at that place having been received at Weimar, and he himself summoned to a hearing. Upon the 14th of the month, Luther wrote from Weimar to the magistracy of Mühlhausen, whither as he learned Münzer had now gone, and where the latter already had a following. He warned the citizens of Mühlhausen: they had better at least wait before receiving him, until they should find out "whose children they are." It would not remain long in doubt. This was, as Münzer had already proved at Zwickau and Allstedt, a tree which bore no fruit but murder and tumult.

From Weimar, Luther journeyed further to the neighborhood of Orlamund. On the 21st he arrived at Jena, the residence of a minister Reinhard who sympathized with Carlstadt. Luther here preached boldly against the "Allstedt Spirit," which destroyed images, despised the sacrament, and led on to insurrection. Carlstadt, who was himself present and heard the sermon, called upon him afterwards at the inn to defend himself from such reproaches. Luther maintained his position, that Carlstadt, despite his disclaimers, was at one with the new prophets. He finally challenged him to abandon his secret machinations and write publicly against him. The heated dialogue concluded with a promise to this effect upon the part of Carlstadt, upon which Luther handed him a gilder as a pledge of their agreement.

From Jena, Luther traveled through Kahla, where he also preached, to Orlamund. The people here had desired a personal conference with him, but had already in writing said to him: "You despise all who by divine command destroy dumb idols, against which you dress up a powerless defence devised in your own brain, and not authorized in the Scriptures. But that you so

publicly slander us, members of Christ, is evidence that you are yourself no member of the genuine Christ," etc. Naturally, his addresses to them now were without effect, and he desisted from further attempt: for they burned, as he says, like a fire, as though they would devour him. At his departure, they hurled fierce curses after him.

Carlstadt was, a few weeks later, removed from his professorship and compelled to leave the country. Luther himself interceded in behalf of the people of Orlamund, designating them "good, weak people," who had been misled by one stronger than they. He published, however, a condemnatory criticism of Carlstadt's entire doctrine and conduct, which appeared in two parts, at the close of the year 1524 and in the beginning of the following year. It bore the title: "Against the Holy Prophets: Concerning Images, the Sacraments," etc., with the motto: "Their folly shall be manifest unto all men." (2 Tim. iii. 9.) It was his desire to expose and oppose in Carlstadt precisely the same spirit which breathed in the Zwickau prophets and in Münzer, and which would inevitably produce still worse fruits. If Carlstadt teach that according to the law of Moses images are to be destroyed, and to this end summon, instead of the legal authority, the disorderly mob, then must this mob have power and authority to execute likewise all the commandments of God. Upon this would follow the inference which Münzer soon actually drew: "It will be further claimed," says he, "that they must slay all the ungodly; for Moses commanded (Deut. xiii.) not only to break the images, but also to destroy without mercy the people who possessed such images in the land of Canaan."

The great storm announced and prepared by the "Allstedt Spirit," now burst forth with unexpected rapidity. Münzer actually appeared in Mühlhausen. The council of the town was at that time yet able to effect his expulsion, and that of his friend, Pfeifer. He then traveled about in southwestern Germany for some weeks, stirring up insurrection. On September 13th, however, he returned with Pfeifer to Mühlhausen, preached in his ordinary style, proclaimed his doctrines and revelations upon the streets, and drew the multitude after him, prominent citizens and members of the magistracy meanwhile leaving the city to escape the threatening calamities. Towards the end of February, a regular living was assigned him, and shortly afterward the entire

magistracy was supplanted, and one in sympathy with him was installed. The populace broke loose upon the statues and cloisters. Peasants streamed in from the surrounding country, captivated by the proclamation of universal equality. Luther announced to a friend: "Münzer is king and emperor in Mühlhausen."

In southern Germany, meanwhile, since the summer of this year, insurrections of peasants had broken out in various places. This, in itself, was nothing new. In the last decades of the former century already, there had been repeated uprisings of the poor, hoisting the "Bundschuh," the symbol of insurrection, derived from the rough shoe of the peasant. They complained of the intolerable and ever-increasing burdens laid upon them by their temporal and spiritual masters, of the multifarious taxes extorted from them and newly invented for them, and of the vassalage to which they were compelled to submit. The nobility had in reality towards the end of the Middle Ages not failed to greatly extend their old prerogatives, shrewdly employing to this end the ancient Roman system of jurisprudence, in regard to which their subjects were profoundly ignorant. Upon the other hand, we find at the same time complaints of the arrogance of the prosperous peasants, of their aping of the gentry in luxurious living, and of presumption and insolence in the peasantry in general. The oppression under which a single class of civil society suffers commonly produces really violent insurrections and outbreaks only when the afflicted class has awakened to a decided self-consciousness and developed its strength. The peasants found also companions in discontent among the lower classes in the cities, who were in a state of chronic insurrection against the higher classes, and among whom were heard at this time upon every hand bitter complaints of the hard lot of the common people beneath the oppression of the great corporations and commercial enterprises, or, as we would say, under the power of capital. When now the peasantry rose in rebellion against the nobility, there were found certain scattered elements in the ranks of the higher classes also, which, owing to the unfortunate condition of their own affairs, were not averse to a general revolution, even though brought about by the peasantry. Throughout the German Empire there was at that time a demand for a general readjustment of the relations of the different estates to one another and to the imperial power.

General ideas of a new social and political order had at that time as never before penetrated the mass of the people.

Such preparatory conditions and incitements to a powerful popular movement were already everywhere at hand, independently of the movement for ecclesiastical reform; and Luther now, as we have seen, desired this latter movement to be confined strictly to that sphere which, as the spiritual, he carefully distinguished from the temporal, or political and civil. It was however inevitable that the charge of lying, tyranny and hostility to evangelical truth, which was now so generally made against the ruling clergy and the temporal rulers who opposed the Gospel, should greatly intensify the bitter feelings occasioned by the external grievances. Earnestly condemning every disorderly, violent movement for the advancement of the Gospel, Luther had no less earnestly warned its persecutors of the inevitable storm which they would bring upon themselves. Other evangelical ministers, in connection with their legitimate preaching, scattered abroad also all manner of ideas of social reform among the people. Thus Eberlin had acted at an earlier day, and shortly before this period, the above-mentioned Strauss. Finally, there appeared among the people men who in public and private advocated principles directly opposed to those of Luther, but who yet claimed to be zealots for the Gospel he had restored, or even announced themselves as the first to really restore the Gospel and evangelical freedom. They sought to found the external demands and grievances of the oppressed classes directly upon God's Word, proclaiming an appeal to arms in the name of divine justice. By this means the insurrection first attained its peculiar fervor and energy, although the enthusiasm thus enkindled speedily allied itself with the agitations of rude and base sensuality. Never had Germany been threatened with a revolution so great, violent and immeasurable in its results as at that time. No man's word could avail so much to avert it, as that of the man of the people, Luther.

The movement itself originated late in the summer of 1524, in the southern portion of the Black Forest and Hegau. From the beginning of the following year it swept over a constantly-widening territory, and the different bands formed within its scope united in common plans. The movement swept like a flood eastward to the Austrian provinces, westward to Elsass, northward to Franconia, and forward until it finally reached Thuringia.

In Rothenburg on the Tauber, Carlstadt prepared the way for it by summoning the people here, also, to the destruction of images. The demands in which the peasants were generally agreed, were now arranged in twelve articles. These indicated as yet a very moderate position. First of all, they desired that every congregation should have the right to elect its own minister. Tithes should be only in part abolished. The peasants would no longer be regarded as servants, since Christ has purchased all with his blood. They demanded, also, for every man the right to catch game, birds and fish, since God gave to man in common dominion over the beasts. They took their platform, it was claimed thus, from the Word of God; relying upon His promises they entered the contest; God, who had released the children of Israel from the hand of Pharaoh would now, also, very shortly deliver His people. In the articles and other publications of this league of the peasants is found no trace of the wild fancies of Münzer's system of prophecy, with its ideas of government and murderous plans. They from the beginning burned cloisters and cities to the ground. At some places, indeed, a more peaceful conclusion was reached with the *nobility* and *gentry*, without however, restoring genuine confidence between the two parties.

When the above-mentioned articles reached Luther at Wittenberg, and he learned how the insurgents appealed to his authority, he addressed himself in the first weeks of April to the preparation of a public declaration which should condemn their undertaking and at the same time exhort the princes to moderation. Count Albert of Mansfeld summoned him to Eisleben at that time, as we have seen, to assist in the foundation of a new school. He started upon Easter Sunday, the 16th of April, after preaching a morning sermon. It was there that he wrote his: "Exhortation to Peace upon the Basis of the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia." He, in this, addresses with great severity the princes and lords, bishops and priests, who do not cease to rage against the Gospel, and in the exercise of temporal power "flay and strip to sustain their parade and pride, until the common man can endure no longer." If God now suffer the devil to stir up insurrection against them, he and his Gospel are not responsible for it. He counsels them, however, to yield a little before the wrath of God, and try the effect of kind treatment. From the outset he confesses to the peasants his suspicion that it is only for the sake

of appearance that many of them refer to the Scriptures, and profess themselves ready to accept further instruction from them ; but he addresses them kindly as friends and brethren, and acknowledges that ungodly rulers often burden the people beyond endurance. Nevertheless, however, much in their articles may be naturally right and proper, the Gospel, he declares, has yet nothing to do with these things, and in their conduct they have forgotten *Christian* law ; for according to God's law no man dare extort anything by force from the government. Wickedness in the government is no excuse for insurrection. As to their demands themselves, the first article is indeed right and Christian. Should the government deny them pastors, they may select their own, but they must then support such from their own means, and dare not forcibly protect them against the government. The contents of the other articles in general have no connection with the Gospel. He, therefore, declares that should they persist in their insurrection, they will be worse enemies of the Gospel than pope or emperor, since under the name of the Gospel they oppose the Gospel. He is impelled to speak to them thus, although some among them corrupted by the poison of the bloodthirsty fanatics, hate him and call him a hypocrite, and the devil, who could not destroy him through the pope, now seeks to destroy and devour him through the bloodthirsty prophets. He will be satisfied if he be able at least to save some good-hearted people among them, from the danger of the divine wrath. Finally he gives to both parties, the nobility and peasantry, this faithful counsel, i. e., that a number of counts and lords from the nobility, and also a number of councillors from the cities, be selected, to consider and settle peacefully the matter of dispute, in order that the difficulty, although not dealt with strictly according to Christian principles, may yet be settled according to human law and compacts.

Luther spoke thus with his usual entire candor, warmth, vigor and bluntness, caring as little for popular favor as for that of the nobility. But what effect could his counsel, which was itself evidently prompted by violent inward emotion, be expected to produce in the midst of the excited passions of the multitude. Was it not much more to be feared, that the peasants would eagerly seize upon the first part of his pamphlet, which was directed against the nobility, and but close their ears the more

completely against the second portion? It can scarcely have been prepared, and as yet not published, when new reports and observations crowded upon Luther, according to which its contents and language no longer seemed to be in place, but only a loud call to war against the godless insurgents. He says: "In my former pamphlets I did not venture to pass judgment upon the peasants, because they professed themselves open to better instruction; but before I can turn about, they are rushing on, resorting to violence, robbing and raging, and acting like mad dogs—it is especially that arch-fiend that reigns at Mühlhausen."

In Southern Germany already upon that Easter Sunday upon which Luther journeyed to Eisleben, that horrible scene had been witnessed at Weinsberg, where the peasants, amid the merry playing of fifes, drove Count Helfenstein upon their spears in the presence of his wife and child. That Luther while composing his pamphlet at Eisleben knew nothing of this and similar occurrences is easily understood, when we recall the imperfect means of communication at that day. And now already reports were received of plundering, burning and murdering mobs in the neighboring Thuringia, and of an excitement among the peasants in the immediate vicinity of Eisleben. The peasants gained a remarkable advantage towards the end of April in their victorious entry into Erfurt, where the preacher Eberlin faithfully and manfully, though in vain, exhorted and warned the assailants encamped without and their sympathizers within the city.

On the 26th of this month, Münzer, in Luther's phrase the "arch-fiend of Mühlhausen," sallied forth with four hundred men to do battle, as he said, for the Lord, and gathered a larger crowd about him. In a call to the miners of Mansfeld he declared it to be "his only anxiety, that the foolish men had consented to a delusive agreement." On the other hand he promises that: "Where there are but three of you who, trusting in God, seek only his name and honor, you shall not fear a hundred thousand." He cries out to them: "Now on, on, on! The time has come; the miscreants are terrified like dogs. On, on, on! Show no quarter, no matter what terms Esau may propose! Pay no regard to the distress of the ungodly, tho' they plead friendship, and beg and weep and implore like children. Have no mercy, as God has commanded Deut. v. 7., and has likewise instructed us. On, on, while the fire burns! Keep your swords warm in

blood: On, while it is yet day! God leads you on. Follow Him!" He spoke of Luther with especial bitterness and contempt. In a letter which he addressed at this time to "Brother Albert of Mansfeld," i. e., he spoke of Albert's "Lutheran Groats," his "Wittenberg Soups," and his "Martin-ian peasant-filth."

In Thuringia, in the Harz, and in the Golden Meadow a number of cloisters and castles soon lay in ruins. The princes had nowhere as yet the necessary troops on hand, whilst the insurgent Thuringian and Saxon peasants were estimated at more than 30,000, and they were therefore compelled before venturing to offer resistance to strengthen themselves by a mutual alliance. Duke John in Weimar was most illy prepared; his brother, the Elector Frederick, was lying in his castle Lochau (now Annaburg in the province of Torgau) under a painful bodily ailment.

At this time Luther, starting out from Eisleben, addressed the excited populace. We have record of his preaching in Stolberg, Nordhausen, and Wallhausen. In his later writings he could appeal to the fact, that he had been among the peasants, and had traveled through the midst of them, where he had more than once been in all manner of peril of life and limb. On the third of May we find him in Weimar; the following day in the territory of Mansfeld. From there he wrote to his friend Rühel, the councillor of Mansfeld, expressing the hope that the latter may at least "do nothing to weaken the resolution of Count Albert in this matter," i. e., against the insurgents; for it is the duty of the government to faithfully discharge its calling, whatever, under God, may be the issue of the present troubles. He begs Rühel: "Urge upon his Grace that he but press vigorously forward, commit the matter to God, and fulfill his divine commission to bear the sword, just as long as he can. One may thus at least keep a good conscience, even though overcome in the conflict; it will be yet but a little time until the true judge shall come."

Luther now hastened back, having received from Lochau a summons to appear before the Elector; but before he could reach Lochau the latter had, on the evening of the fifth of May, peacefully passed away. Faithfully, deliberately, and with the honest intention of hastening the triumph of the truth, he had protected Luther and shown him his good will, whilst at the same time he carefully refrained upon his part from any interference by means

of his civil authority in the ancient ecclesiastical order, and also allowed the bishops to have their own way, and avoided all personal contact with Luther. Face to face with death, he however attested his personal adherence to the gospel as proclaimed by Luther, by receiving the Lord's Supper in both elements, and refusing the sacrament of extreme unction.

When the corpse was solemnly brought to Wittenberg, and there interred in the cathedral, Luther, who was called upon to preach twice during the services, spoke of the general anxiety and complaint, that "our head has fallen; peaceable as man and as ruler—a quiet sovereign." And he designated as the most distressing circumstance of all, that this head should be smitten down just at this juncture, in these trying, wonderful times, in which all Germany is threatened with devastation, if God do not avert. He exhorted his hearers to confess to God their own ingratitude for the grace which he had bestowed upon them in giving them this noble ruler. But of those who set themselves against the government, he quotes the words of the apostle, Rom. xiii. 2, that they would bring judgment upon themselves. "This verse," he declared, "will do more than all guns and spears."

In precisely the spirit of the letter a few days before addressed by him to Rühel at Mansfeld, there now appeared from his pen a public summons against the murdering and plundering bands of the peasants. This document opened with the words already quoted: "Before I can turn about, they resort to violence * * * and act like mad dogs."

He wrote thus just at the moment when he realized that the danger had reached its height. He even suggested the possibility that the peasants might succeed (if God permit); that "God perhaps designed, as a prelude to the last day, to allow the devil to destroy all order and authority, and to dash the world into a heap of ruins." But only so much the more earnestly and vehemently did he summon the Christian government to employ against the devilish miscreants the sword which God had committed to it. They should commit the matter to God, confess to Him that they had well deserved His judgments, and then with a good conscience, and with courage, "cast themselves into the conflict, so long as a drop of blood remains in their veins." Whoever should then fall upon their side, having fought with such a

good conscience, would be a genuine martyr in the sight of God. As he then states that many better people have been forced by the bloodthirsty and murderous prophets to join in the Satanic league, he breaks forth in the cry: "Dear sirs, come, save! Come, help! Have mercy upon the poor people. Come, pierce, smite, slay, whoever can!"

The course of events speedily outran even the violent call of Luther. The Saxon princes, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Mansfeld Dukes, had formed an alliance before the mass of the peasants in Thuringia and Saxony could be united in one great army. Already on the 15th of May, the band of Münzer, 8,000 strong, was beaten in the battle at Frankenhausen. Münzer himself was captured; broken in spirit, and full of alarm, he suffered the death of a criminal at the edge of the sword. The main army of the Swabian peasants had been overcome a few days before. In the following weeks, one rebellious district after another was subdued, and the peasants terribly repaid for the outrages they had perpetrated. Landgrave Philip, and John, the new Elector of Saxony, manifested exceptional clemency in permitting a crowd of common peasants, who had participated in the insurrection, to return to their homes after the battle without punishment. But the passionate words of Luther in the emergency had given offence even among his friends. Catholic opponents, and even people who made no objection when heretics are burned *en masse*, merely on account of their faith, then charged upon him in consequence a shocking barbarity, and repeat the charge to the present day. Luther replied to the complaints and questions in regard to his pamphlet with a public "Circular Letter in regard to the Severe Pamphlet against the Peasants." The discussion in regard to it had only excited and enraged him the more. He maintained firmly the position which he had taken. He also recalls that he had there not spoken at all of the treatment of the vanquished and humbled, as his slanderers charged; but exclusive of the mode of meeting those actually engaged in insurrection. He declared further, at the conclusion of his new and severe discourse upon the use of the sword, that a Christian government should by all means, when victory has been gained, deal gently, not alone with the innocent, but also with the guilty. With the "raging, raving and unreasonable tyrants, who can never be saved with blood,

even after the battle, and who in their entire lives care little for Christ," he declares that he will have nothing to do. He had already in a similar strain, in a small writing in regard to Münzer, in which he published characteristic extracts from the writings of the bloodthirsty prophet as a warning to the people, implored the gentry and the authorities "to be gracious to the prisoners and all who might surrender—that the storm be not turned upon themselves." If we must now lament, that after the insurrection was quelled, nothing was done to relieve the real evils which had occasioned it—rather indeed that these were increased as a punishment of the vanquished—this charge rests at least as heavily upon the Catholic clergy and temporal rulers as upon the Evangelical authorities or Luther.

Yet far more than for his severity against the insurgents was Luther at that time and afterward reproached by his ecclesiastical opponents with having by his preaching and writings occasioned the insurrection. When the danger and alarm were past, the theologian Emser had the hardihood to write of him in verse for the people: "Now that he has kindled the fire, he washes his hands like Pilate, and sets his sail to the wind."

In response to this Luther pointed to his pamphlet upon the civil authority, and other writings, and was able to say: "I am of opinion that no teacher before me ever wrote so vigorously of the civil authority, so that even my enemies have had to thank me—and who stood more firmly against the peasants in writing and sermons than did I?" Among the estates of the realm, even the most violent opponents of the evangelical doctrine dared not now venture to turn the weapons with which the insurgents had been vanquished against those of their own associates who adhered to this doctrine, in common with whom they had gained the victory, and from whose rank had really sounded forth the most effective summons to the conflict and the victory. Luther upon the other hand did not hesitate at this juncture to address a letter (on June 2d), to the Archbishop Cardinal Albert, of whose secret inclination his friend Rühel had recently sent favorable reports, exhorting him to follow the example of his cousin, the Grand Master in Prussia, to convert his bishopric into a temporal principality, and himself enter the married state, as a first motive for this mentioning the sad and horrible uprising with which the wrath of God had recompensed the sins of the clergy.

Thus Luther in this storm, whatever may be thought of the vehemence of his utterances, assumed his position firmly and distinctly, and maintained it—sure of his ground, and secure also against the new assaults which he saw the devil here making, unyielding and defiant against the old papal opponents and their new slanders. It was in this frame of mind also that he just at this time took a step, which could but yet further awaken all the tongues of slander against him, and in which he himself purposed yet more fully to meet his calling. Released from the unchristian vow of monasticism, he entered the divinely-ordained state of matrimony. We find him making the first distinct mention of it in a letter addressed to Rühel on the 4th of May. Having spoken of the devil, and of the peasants whom the latter has stirred up, in view of whose murderous deeds he endeavors to prepare himself also for death, he proceeds with the astonishing words: "And if I can arrange it, I will defy him by yet taking my Katie in marriage before I die, if I hear that they continue. I trust they shall in any event not rob me of my courage and my joy."

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

WE recall the expressions of Luther at the Wartburg, when he learned that as a result of his teaching, ministers were marrying and nuns disregarding their vows. "No woman," said he, "shall be forced upon me." He remained in his cloister, saw one after another of his companions and friends avail themselves of this liberty, wished them happiness, and advised others to do likewise, without having changed his mind in regard to his own condition.

In regard to his personal habits, his enemies charged that he lived too sensually, sat with his friends over beer, was devoted to the lute, etc. Not only did Catholic opponents seek here matter for slander, but sour-looking fanatics like Münzer also spoke about it. But it is only the more remarkable that throughout all these years not even his most embittered enemies had started any evil report against him in regard to his relations with the female sex, although he so publicly and plainly rebuked sins of this kind in the higher and lower clergy and among the monks. The calumnies of this kind against him were first started upon the occasion of his marriage.

In reality, his life was full of most exhausting toil, application, and excitement, in the midst of which he was content, so far as his bodily necessities were concerned, with the most indispensable and simple refreshments and enjoyments. As the Augustine cloister, in which he found his support, was gradually disbanded through the desertion of the monks, its income was also at the same time cut off. Luther writes to Spalatin in the year 1524 of the experience of want. He troubles himself, he says, as the latter well knows, very little about such things, and does not wish to lay burdens on any one on their account. If he have not meat and wine, he can yet live upon bread and water. We have from the mouth of Melancthon the assurance that no one made Luther's bed for an entire year before his marriage, and that it had become mouldy from perspiration. With this we may combine

his own expression: "I was tired, and worked myself out, and then fell into bed, and knew nothing about it."

Even when in the fall he, as already mentioned, exchanged the monk's cowl for the secular dress of the scholar, and when besides himself only Prior Brisger yet remained in the cloister, he kept quietly on without a thought of marriage. A noble lady, Argula, of Staufen, widow of Knight Grumbach, formerly engaged in the Bavarian service, who had written publicly for the cause of the Gospel, suffered on this account with her husband the ill-will of the Duke of Bavaria, and had now opened correspondence with the Wittenbergers and with Spalatin, ventured to inquire of Spalatin whether Luther would not perhaps take a wife. Luther wrote in regard to this on November 30th, 1524: "I do not wonder that people talk thus about me, since they say many other things. Thank the lady in my name, and say to her that I am in the hand of God, as a creature whose heart he can in any moment change and change again—kill or make alive; but as my heart has hitherto been inclined, and is still inclined, it will not come to pass, that I take a wife;—not that I am without the inclinations of flesh and sex, but my thoughts are far from marriage, since I live in daily expectation of the death and well-merited punishment of a heretic." Luther himself afterwards said: "The Lord thrust me into the state of matrimony suddenly, and while I was thinking of far different things." It is in the spring of the following year that we first see the resolution grow upon him, and then quickly reach maturity.

In a letter of March 12th, 1525, to his friend Amsdorf, who had removed to Magdeburg, he complains of despondency and temptation, and begs him to comfort him with a friendly visit. It was a temptation, as we gather from the context in the letter, in which Luther was led to realize that, according to the Scriptures, it was not good for man to be alone, but he should have a helpmeet to be with him. It is probable that he had already conversed with Amsdorf upon the subject, and even that they had spoken of a certain lady of Magdeburg, of the family of Alemann, which had been distinguished there by its faithful adherence to the Evangelical doctrine.

Luther's own inclination, however, turned much more strongly toward the former nun, Katharina von Bora. Descended from an old but poor noble family, as a child she had been committed to

the cloister Nimtzens near Grimma. Born on January 29th, 1499, we find her there in the year 1509. At sixteen years of age she was already consecrated as a nun. As the evangelical doctrine became known even in Nimtzens, she, with other nuns, sought to escape from the bondage which they had accepted without the privilege of choice or knowledge. They appealed in vain to their own relatives. The Torgau citizen and councillor, Leonhard Koppe, became interested in their behalf. By his aid and that of two of his friends, nine nuns were stealthily led out of the cloister on the night before Easter, April 5th, 1523. Luther justified their escape in an open letter to Koppe, and also gathered contributions for their support until they should be otherwise provided for. They came first to Wittenberg, and Katharina here remained in the house of the clerk of the city, afterwards burgomaster, Philip Reichenbach.

She was, therefore, in her 26th year when Luther addressed her. He afterwards confessed openly to his friends, and indeed to his wife herself, that he had not before loved her, for he had, not altogether without reason, suspected her of pride. He had even but a short time before thought of securing her union with a minister by the name of Glatz, whose subsequent career disgraced his office. It is said that to escape this, she appealed for help to Amsdorf, as a trusted friend of Luther, and told him plainly that she did not wish to marry Glatz, but would have no objection to an honorable marriage with himself or with Luther. If we are to trust at all to the pictures of Cranach, she was not distinguished by beauty or other special outward attractions. But she was a healthy, vigorous, candid and reliable specimen of German womanhood. Luther might expect to gain in her a faithful, cheerful and enduring helpmeet for his life, for the outward necessities and cares of which he could and would give himself but little concern, and in the midst of his bodily sufferings and inward temptations he had need of such a companion. In case that she should manifest too haughty a disposition, he would be just the man to correct this quietly and affectionately.

We learn how thoughts of entrance upon matrimony at this time influenced him, mainly through letters in which he advises certain of his friends to take the step. Thus he wrote on March 27th to Wolfgang Reissenbusch, preceptor of the cloister at Lichtenburg: "Man was created by God for marriage; God has so

made men that they cannot well refrain from it; he who is ashamed of marriage, must be ashamed of himself because he is a man, or must improve upon the work of God; the devil has slandered marriage, whilst at the same time supporting in high position many who live in disorder and wantonness." Luther was drawing from his own experience when he thus spoke of the natural adaptation of the man for wedded life. In the same spirit he wrote at a later date: "To be pious out of matrimony is not the least of trials, as they know who have attempted it." In the mention of the devil, he doubtless had in view the contumely which awaited him especially, should he resolve upon matrimony. He then says further to Reissenbusch, that if he but honor the word and work of God, he will only have to meet a short hour of reproach; then will follow years of honor. In a letter to Spalatin, on April 10th, he then says of himself: "I am urging others by so many motives to marriage, that I may soon be brought to take the step myself, since the enemies cease not to condemn this state, and our own simple wise ones to ridicule it." He has elsewhere alluded to some such "wise ones" in his own learned and theological circle at Wittenberg. But he was not only resolved to obey the will of God, despite all condemnation and ridicule, out it had become his duty to bear personal testimony against these by deed as well as by word. As it was, the opposers cast up to him, that he dared not do what he commended to others. A few days afterward, immediately before his departure for Eisleben, he wrote further to Spalatin, that the latter had better see to it, or he himself, who had been so totally disinclined to marriage, would yet in the end outstrip him.

It was thus in the midst of the terrors of the Peasant War, which now broke out around him, and in solemn contemplation of the approaching end which threatened him, that he first, as his letter of May 4th to Rühel testifies, formed the resolution to defy the devil by yet taking his Katie in marriage. This is also the first letter known to us in which he mentioned her name to any friend. He clung to this determination likewise through the trying weeks which followed, in which he was called upon to bear a part in the obsequies of his Elector, to sound the call to the bloody, vigorous campaign against the peasants, and to endure the reproaches brought upon him by the severity of his speech. As he then forwarded to Cardinal Albert his letter, commending

marriage to the latter, he at the same time, June 3d, wrote to his friend Rühel, who also held the position of a councillor to the cardinal: "If my marriage would be any encouragement to his Electoral Grace, I would very soon be ready to set him the example, since it is my purpose at any rate, before I depart from this life, to enter the state of matrimony, which I regard as required by God." This is his purpose, he adds, even though in his case it should amount merely to a betrothal and legal marriage, never practically consummated.

He very quickly, however, advanced to the final determination, in order to leave no room for the reckless and malicious reports which would at once be started, as soon as anything should be known of his intentions in regard to Bora. He, therefore, took none of his friends further into his confidence. He acted in the matter just as he afterward advised others to do. "Ask God for counsel, and pray, and then go on without delay."

We have no means of knowing how he finally came to an understanding with Katharina. But upon the evening of June 13th, the Tuesday after Trinity Sunday, he invited to his residence his friends, Bugenhagen, the pastor of the city; Jonas, the Professor and Provost of All Saints' College; Lucas Cranach, with his wife, and the Professor of Law; Apel, formerly an Episcopal Canon of Bamberg, who had himself also married a nun; and in their presence he was formally married to Katharina. The marriage ceremony was conducted in the traditional manner. The parties were no doubt asked by the minister present, Bugenhagen, according to the custom prevailing in Germany, and adopted by Luther afterwards in his marriage formula, if they agreed to accept each the other as a wedded companion; they joined their right hands, and were thus, in the name of the Triune God, declared united in matrimony. The ceremony was thus concluded, and Katharina remained with Luther as his wife. The following day the same friends were invited to an unpretending morning meal. The magistracy, of which Cranach was a member, sent a present of wine with their compliments. A fortnight later Luther made a wedding feast upon a larger scale, that he might invite to it also some of his distant friends. He wanted them, as he expressed it in his letters, "to seal and make sure his marriage," and "help to pronounce the benediction upon it." Above all, he rejoiced in the presence here of his "dear father and mother."



LUTHER'S MARRIAGE.

Among the motives for his step, he mentioned especially that he had an old duty to discharge in accordance with the wishes of his father.

The gossip and disturbance which immediately followed the sudden marriage of Luther were as great as the astonishment occasioned by it.

Even among his adherents and friends, especially among those "wise ones" of whom he had spoken in advance, arose alienations and sorrowful expressions of regret. The great man was found to have degraded himself, and the search for motives to explain the step led to scandalous surmisings. Melanchthon, in all other matters his confidential friend, for the moment entirely lost his self-command, as we learn from a report sent by him to the philologist, Camerarius, on the 16th of June. He confessed that married life is a holy state, and pleasing to God, and further that it might have a good effect upon Luther's nature and personality; but thought that Luther's descent into this state was nevertheless a pitiable evidence of infirmity, and would injure his reputation just at the time when Germany more than ever needed his spirit and his energy. Luther had probably omitted him from the list of his guests on the 13th, just because he anticipated that Melanchthon would with difficulty be reconciled to the step. A few days afterward he nevertheless cheerfully and cordially begged their common friend, Link, to be present by all means at the celebration on the 27th of June.

That Luther had in this matter also acted with his usual decision, and had suffered no loss of character and energy, was soon enough perfectly evident to all his alarmed friends.

The opposers took occasion to spread vulgar falsehoods, which were in later times varied and magnified, and which even down to the present day have been again and again shamelessly renewed, or at least repeated in covert and shamefaced insinuations.

Luther himself at first felt strangely in the new condition in life upon which he, as a man of 41 years, had entered so suddenly and in the midst of the exacting duties of his calling and the great public events and conflicts. Besides, he could not be insensible to the unfavorable reception accorded to his step even in the midst of his surroundings at Wittenberg. Melanchthon found him, in the course of these first days, in an oppressed, disturbed state of mind. Of one thing, however, he remained sure,

namely, that God, as he expressed it, had driven him into this state. On the very day on which Melancthon gave such a distressing account of his marriage to Camerarius, he himself wrote to Spalatin: "I have made myself so little and contemptible, that I hope the angels will laugh, and all the devils weep." In the letters inviting his friends to meet him at his house on June 27th, pleasantry is intermingled with expressions of deep earnestness, even with thoughts of death, and longings to be released at last from this vain world. After this Luther was enabled to preach upon the basis of his own experience of the blessings, joys and wholesome burdens of this divinely instituted and sanctified condition, and never spoke of his own entrance upon it without thanking God. In his will, 17 years later, he bore testimony that his wife had ever "as a pious, faithful partner, loved, esteemed and cared for him."

We have no fuller reports of the celebration on the 27th of June. Compared with the extravagant wedding banquets then customary, the meal itself was a very simple one. The University presented Luther a finely engraved silver cup, which bore upon its base the words: "The Honorable University of the Electoral City of Wittenberg, bestows this wedding present upon Doctor Martin Luther and his bride, Katharina von Bora." This cup is now in the possession of the University of Greifswald.

The old cloister, which Brisger also soon after forsook to accept a pastorate, remained by an arrangement of the Elector as the residence of Luther. Here, therefore, it became Katie's lot to conduct her household.

Protestant posterity has wished to preserve a memorial of this union in the wedding-rings of the two parties to it. Such were probably not employed in the actual wedding ceremony, since Luther desired to consummate this so suddenly and without the previous knowledge of his friends. A ring has, however, been preserved, which Luther, according to the inscription, "D. Martino Luthero Catharina v. Boren 13. Jun. 1525," must at least have received subsequently from his Katie in remembrance of the day.

Copies of this were taken at a modern date (about 1817). It bears an image of the crucified Saviour and the instruments of his martyrdom, expressing precisely the view of the Reformer, that even his marriage state must be inaugurated and conducted

in the name of the Lord who was crucified for us. In addition to this we still possess (in the Ducal Museum, at Brunswick) a double ring, consisting of two bands fitted together, one of which bears a diamond, with the initials of his name (M. L. D.); the other a ruby, with the initials of his wife's name (C. v. B.). The inner surface of the first band bears the words: "WAS. GOT. ZUSAMEN. FIEGT;" that of the second the words: "SOL. KEIN. MENSCH. SCHEIDEN." The ring was probably the present of a friend to him, or, as others suppose, to her.

BOOK V.

LUTHER AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE
CHURCH, TO THE TIME OF THE FIRST
RELIGIOUS PEACE—1525-1532.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW.

IN the life of Luther and in the history of the Reformation, the year which we have now reached marks in many respects an important epoch. Luther's preaching had originally struck root among the people and the various provinces of Germany, with a power which astonished its opponents. There was no calculating how far the fermentation might yet extend, nor to what it might lead. The wise Elector, now deceased, had been controlled in his relations with Luther and the cause which Luther represented, by the opinion that the evangelical Word should be left to develop itself and work unhindered, and that the truth would, throughout Christendom at large, or at least within the German empire, finally attain a peaceful victory—and no one could have more fully acquiesced in this opinion than did Luther himself. Now, however, as we have seen, the German princes who were devoted to the ancient church order, had begun to league together and cast about for means to relieve certain wants and deficiencies of the church according to their own ideas. Erasmus, still the representative of a powerful modern tendency, had finally taken a decided stand against Luther, and pledged a new allegiance to the old church order. After the unfortunate enterprise of Sickingen, which Luther himself could but condemn, the position of the German nobility, whom Luther had once so boldly and hopefully summoned to participation and assistance in the conflict of the church, left no further room to hope for an extensive coöperation anywhere in securing the ends of the evangelical confession and church order. The uprising of that other order, the peasantry, who likewise professed a dependence upon the Gospel, was indeed an extensive movement. But true adherents of the Gospel were compelled to see in this with alarm, how a perverted conception of the Gospel could lead to aberrations and enormities which Luther himself wished to see stifled in blood. The Catholic authorities now took occasion from this

to denounce the more vehemently all evangelical preaching, and to apply at once the reproachful designation of insurrectionists also to those evangelically disposed, who had no sympathy whatever with the insurrection. Amid the experiences of Luther, especially among the nobility and the peasants, he lost that bold and confident tone of spirit and style with which he had heretofore addressed his German people. He was still unalterably convinced that his cause was the cause of God; but in a gloomier mood than heretofore he leaves it for God to say how many public triumphs it is already in this present evil world to gain, and how much is to be decided only by the last great judgment of God.

Already before the insurrection of the peasants, within the sphere of the Reformation itself, the excesses of the fanatics had begun to retard and injure his efficiency, and to cause him inward pain and trials. He could not but become distrustful of many whom he had regarded as brethren, and of the free proclamation of the divine Word in which they professed to labor. He now already heard, too, of men of this class who not only rejected infant baptism, and denounced his doctrine of the Lord's Supper as well as that of the Catholics, but also directed their skeptical attacks against the common faith of Christendom in the Triune God, and in the divine nature of the Redeemer. In the beginning of the year 1525 he learned that such was the case with the Rector, John Denk, in Nürnberg, whom the authorities of the city for that reason banished. Against his doctrine of the bodily presence in the Holy Supper, which he then had to defend, especially against his former colleague and fellow-champion, Carlstadt, there now arose a far more dangerous opponent in the person of the Zurich reformer, Ulrich Zwingli. The latter had already in a letter to the minister, Alber, in Reutlingen, on the 16th of November, 1524, taken the "is" in the words of consecration ("this is my body," etc.) only in the sense of "signifies;" and in March, 1525, he openly advocated this view by the publication of that letter, and in an essay, "Concerning the True and False Religion." Œcolampadius, in Basel, in whom Luther had heretofore joyfully greeted a talented fellow-laborer, allied himself to Zwingli through his own peculiar exposition of the Saviour's words. The evangelical preachers, Bucer and Capito, in Strasburg, inclined to the same view. It threatened to rapidly find its

way yet further in Upper Germany. The opposition which Luther here met with was far more dangerous for his doctrine than the theories and agitations of a Carlstadt, because, whatever opinion we may form of the matter itself, it came from men of far more well-balanced minds, of thorough theological training, and who were filled with sincere reverence for the Word of God. There thus began that antagonism within the Evangelical Reformation itself, that more than anything else hindered the fresh and vigorous advance of the principles of the Reformation, and filled Luther's own mind with the bitterness of strife.

At the same time, however, Luther had secured a sure footing for the evangelical principles and confession, upon definite and widely extended territories. Within these narrower limits now an externally firmly established, well ordered, new evangelical ecclesiastical system could be constructed. The new Saxon Elector, John, did not, indeed, enjoy in the empire such high regard as his brother, Frederick, Luther's former protector, and was not equal to him in statesmanship; but he, and especially his son, John Frederick, had previously entered into friendly personal intercourse with Luther, which his predecessor had always avoided; and in his way of thinking, he did not so anxiously seek to preserve as far as possible ecclesiastical unity in the German Empire and in the Western Church, but on the other hand soon showed himself ready independently as sovereign to lay hold of the work of establishing new ecclesiastical regulations, according to the principles of the Gospel. Prussia had just—far away, it is true—taken the lead in a comprehensive reform embracing the whole country, under the lead of the former grand-master and present duke. And just at this juncture, too, there came to the aid of the Elector in the application of these sentiments that most efficient and politically influential ally, Landgrave Philip of Hesse. He, though only 20 years old at the beginning of the year 1525, by his energy, decision, and military skill, rendered most important service in the overthrow of Sickingen and in resisting the insurrectionary peasants. Already before the Peasant War, and mainly through the influence of Melanchthon, whom he met upon a journey, he had become acquainted with the evangelical doctrines and was well disposed towards them. In vain did Duke George of Saxony, whose daughter he had married, attempt, after the jointly accomplished victory, to turn him against the cause of the hated

Luther, who had done so much mischief. He came to an understanding, on the other hand, with John and John Frederick in regard to a firm alliance in opposition to the threats that were now made on the part of the Catholic imperial estates against this cause; and in the following spring this developed into the League of Torgau, which was joined also by princes of Brunswick, Lüneburg, Anhalt, Mecklenburg, and the city of Magdeburg. Through the participation of the rulers it became possible for the Reformation and its ecclesiastical organization to secure a firm position in the German empire over against the emperor and the hostile imperial estates. This furnished it at the same time the means to establish upon the territory of the Reformation itself permanent and universally recognized regulations, and to prevent interference with them by fanatical agitations.

Under these circumstances Luther's activity was now restricted to a more limited field, and was no longer characterized by the same boldness and freedom as in his earlier struggle with Rome. So much the more was there now needed, in the erection of this new ecclesiastical structure, persevering patience, fidelity and circumspection in minor details, and a suitable regard for existing facts and possibilities, combined with a firm adherence to high aims and noble projects.

To the picture of the Reformer there is henceforth added that of the husband and head of the family, who determines simply to fulfil as a man and a Christian the obligations devolving upon this state in life, and who gratefully enjoys the blessings that God connects with it. In his letters to intimate friends, pleasant chat concerning his family alternates with the most serious discussions of ecclesiastical events, and duties, and theological questions. In his reformatory writings he no longer entered into the discussion of the interests and questions relating to the civil and social life of his nation, as he had formerly done, and especially in his letter to the nobility; his special calling, indeed, reached no further than the domain of ecclesiastical affairs, and the institutions and activities that contributed to their support. But personally he now, for the first time, in this new condition in life, came really near to the heart of the German people; and that in which, at first, even many of his associates see a humiliation of the great man, becomes both a valuable and an essential part of the historical picture, in which he now stands before us.

Luther's history is henceforth, in the changed state of affairs, no longer so rich in single dramatic incidents and turns as in the preceding years of development and of strife. In the contemplation and description of it, we shall no longer meet with such turning points as serve to characterize great epochs.

CHAPTER II.

REFORMATORY ACTIVITY AND PERSONAL LIFE UNTIL 1529.

Among the special labors in which Luther was engaged in the further progress of the year 1525, irrespective of his multifarious duties as professor and preacher, we have his reply to Erasmus. This work, because of its internal coherence, has been previously noticed. Toward the end of September we find him wholly absorbed with it. To Spalatin he writes: "No sentence of Erasmus' book shall be allowed to pass unanswered."

Though he threw himself with the keenest acerbity upon this distinguished opponent, yet it is somewhat remarkable how at this very time he earnestly desired to appease the wrath of two of his most embittered enemies, King Henry VIII. and Duke George.

For instance, September 1st of the same year he sent a humiliating epistle to Henry. King Christian, of Denmark, had at this time, by capricious and violent rule, lost his own throne. Afterwards he betook himself as a fugitive to the Elector Frederick. He was favorably inclined toward the new doctrine, and even came to Wittenberg in person causing Luther to believe that he (Henry) was about changing his ecclesiastical views, of which, however, history gives us no account. He furthermore encouraged the hope that after rectification of certain personal grievances, he (Henry) could be won over for the cause of the gospel. Luther a little later publicly referred to this in these words: "My most gracious Lord the King (Christian) cheered me with hope on account of the King of England; neither did he cease by word or pen to press me most urgently, telling me it would be a benefit if only I would write submissively," etc., etc.

Thereupon in his letter he wrote a humiliating letter to his majesty and prayed for pardon of his former invectives, having ascertained from reliable sources that the royal book which he assailed was, forsooth, not the work of the king, but the machination of the wretched Cardinal of York.

He offered to make a public recantation, entirely exonerating the king. At the same time he did not fail to implore the grace

of God upon his majesty, praying that it might wholly convert him to the Gospel, and close his ears to the siren voices of his enemies.

Meanwhile he had ascertained some further facts concerning Duke George. This prince had continued to make new complaints against him to his sovereign. He had studiously kept the new doctrine from his own country, and even now he was devising a plan to reap a rich harvest from the defeat of the peasants, to the extermination of Lutheranism, from which the evils of the war had risen. Nevertheless, Luther allowed himself to be persuaded by noble lords of the Duke's own dominion that he had no hostile intention towards the preaching of the word or the adherents of the Gospel. His only complaint was, that personally he had been too much insulted and irritated by Luther.

Under date of December 22d, of the same year, Luther wrote him: "I am," he says, "advised humbly and kindly to address your princely highness once more, and perhaps for the last time. For it appears to me as if God our Lord were about soon to take some of us hence. It causes me some anxiety to know that Duke George and Luther must also go with them."

He then begs pardon for all wherewith, by writing or speech, he might have offended the Duke; only from his doctrine he could not depart for conscience sake. Luther did not humble himself as obsequiously as he did to Henry, and his letter bore abundant evidence of his peculiar sharpness at the same time. He assured the Duke, as to his earlier severe expressions against him, he had been of more service to him than all his flatterers and eulogists, and warned him not to force him to implore God's displeasure against him.

Surely Luther wrote these two letters with a sincere and honest heart. In his reply to Henry, he lays special stress on this. These letters show how much tenderness of mind, as well as want of knowledge of men and the world, coupled with impassioned zeal in defense of the right, was combined in him. George immediately answered him in deep resentment, or, as Luther called it, boorish coarseness. This otherwise noble prince had now become so embittered against the heretic as to upbraid him with vulgar motives of avarice, ambition, and carnal passions.

Luther, though in dispute with most degraded opponents, never

stooped to such personal vulgarities. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak of a reply of the king and of Erasmus. During the same year, the attention of our Reformer and of his friends was called to the subject of the new doctrine of the Lord's Supper which had been introduced. In the meantime, however, Luther permitted others to commence the battle. Bugenhagen wrote a tract against it to his friend Hess, of Breslau; Brenz, of Swabian Hall, in Swabia, with a number of other Swabian ministers, published a book against *Œcolompadius*. Luther himself had repeatedly, ever since February 1525, referred in his sermons before his congregation to the Zwinglian view of the doctrine. His sermons appeared in print. The question had been sprung upon him from Strasburg and Reutlingen. All he had done thus far was to confine himself to epistolary warnings, dated November 5th of the same year and January 4th of the following year. He warned them against the false doctrine concerning growing heresies, the sacrament, and the spirit of fanaticism in general. Of the course of this dispute we shall speak hereafter.

But all these controversies were subordinate to his positive labors and activity. His chief mission was to direct successfully the new enterprise in his own church. In this work he had reason to expect the hearty coöperation of his new sovereign. Hence he sought to interest him as soon as practicable in ecclesiastical affairs. Whilst in his negotiation with the Elector Frederick, Spalatin served as intercessor, he himself brought the affair to the attention of John in writing, and even orally when he had an opportunity, and under such circumstances, very impressively. Spalatin now entered upon pastoral work, as had been his desire for some time. He became successor to Link of Altenburg, the latter having gone to Nürnberg. John nevertheless retained him in his confidence.

In his official calling Luther was, and remained, a member of the University. He always cherished exalted conceptions of its important relation to evangelical truth, the church and the general welfare. It is proper here to state that there existed defects in this institution which required to be remedied. These had made their first appearance during the declining years of Frederick the Elector, and Luther began to address the new Elector in behalf of removing these difficulties. One defect was, the inability of the institution to meet the salaries of the different Pro-

fessors. It had become necessary to suspend some of the chairs of useful branches of knowledge. Luther pressed his cause very vigorously with the Elector. He himself says in an apologetic letter to him, "he so much agitated the matter of restoring system and order, that his persevering importunities almost estranged the Elector, and led him to place but little confidence in his urgencies." It was September, when at last a commission, appointed by the prince, took steps toward the long desired improvements. The special interest of the prince for theology was manifested in doubling the salary of Melancthon, that he might be able to devote more time to theological lectures, to which he was not originally bound. Luther devoted himself henceforth wholly to the necessities of the church. An order of divine service had already been arranged at Wittenberg, which was to give distinct expression to evangelical truth. The Gospel was proclaimed to the congregation, and the people already began to participate in the worship by singing of devotional German hymns. But the different parts of the liturgical service performed alternately by the minister and choir were still chanted or read in Latin. Luther on the other hand proposed a purely German devotional service. He furthermore changed some portions of the ancient forms. To aid him in making the musical changes which became necessary, two music masters from Torgau were detailed to him by the Elector. Luther addressed himself assiduously to the work, especially with one of them, John Walter. Their friendship, thus begun, remained unbroken all through life. Some compositions introduced into this liturgy were solely the work of Luther. These new arrangements, as well as those previously adopted, were made the subject of a public report by him.

It appeared at the beginning of the following year, with the title, "German Mass and Order of Divine Worship introduced at Wittenberg." But even now he protested against the compulsory use of this Liturgy, or that any man's conscience should be thereby bound. He maintained thus special care should be taken not to give offense to the weak and simple—to those, for instance, who were yet in the progress of Christian training, but had not attained a high degree of religious knowledge. He intended it for a people among whom, as he says, many had not yet become Christians, but a majority of whom stood gaping merely to see something new, just as when Christian worship is celebrated among

Turks and heathens. His design was by means of this liturgy to awaken, if possible, a general desire among these uncultivated people toward true Christianity. At the same time, he was contemplating another, and, as he terms it, a proper mode of evangelical church order, for which, however, he thought the people were not yet prepared. This required that all persons sincerely wishing to be earnest Christians and to profess the Gospel, openly should bind themselves by the signature of their names to meet for prayer, reading of the divine word, the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of kindred Christian purposes.

It was not his intention to recommend a fuller liturgical formula for such assemblies and their worship, but a "short, simple method" founded upon "the Word, prayer, and the exercise of love." To this were added rules for the administration of church discipline and Christian almsgiving after the apostolical precept. But he said that for the present he would abandon that purpose, chiefly because the people who were necessary to its consummation were still wanting. He concluded to wait until Christians who were sincere in the profession of the faith would voluntarily bring about such a state of things, "else peradventure" conspiracy might result, should he of his own accord urge the adoption of these measures; for the Germans are a savage people, among whom it is not easy to introduce anything new except in cases of extreme necessity.

This Order of Service received the ready assent of the Elector, who purposed making it pattern for all other churches in his domain. But just at that time a field of operation was opened to his view which was wide, and which until now had not been considered in its individual parts, that seemed to be in great need of a higher protection, as well as the guidance and support of higher powers and authorities. Nothing had been done definitely, in many places, looking towards a reorganization of the church, and providing for the wants of the people in the evangelical sense of the word. No church body existed, nor high ecclesiastical office, by whose authority reforms could have been perfected, and upon which well founded dependence could be placed for the establishment of well regulated institutions. This was a great calamity, even for places where the existing clergy, with a majority or at least the influential portion of their members, had made public acknowledgment of the evangelical doctrine. It must be men-

tioned with regret, that among a number of congregations, and still more among large numbers of the country people, there prevailed a lamentable lack of Christian knowledge, culture and sympathy with religious affairs. Luther had noticed this to his deep regret, even in the inhabitants of Wittenberg.

The bishops, so far as they had yet made visitations in the territory of the Elector Frederick, had not ventured vigorously to suppress the new doctrine, and by this time they did not dare to pursue any measures in opposition to it. Moreover, the new doctrine had not, as Luther very well knew, done its work thoroughly among the people anywhere. The great mass remained dull and indifferent. Among the clergy even, there were many who were undecided, equivocal, and in other respects utterly incapable of advancing the spiritual interests of their congregations, or leading their minds in the right direction. There are frequent instances on record, in which some of them were ready to take sides with either party, and to practice the old or new usages according to circumstances. At some places also the innovations encountered opposition. This was the case with different noblemen, and preachers dependent on the former, and this opposition could only be overcome by the authority and power of the ruling sovereign. Besides all these difficulties, the means of supporting ministers and schools had been squandered, and thus destruction and dissolution threatened the whole fabric of the Church. The customary church fees were no longer paid; moneys bequeathed or paid for private masses had flowed into private coffers. Many noblemen, especially such who had not adopted the new faith, appropriated church revenues to themselves. Luther complained, and said: "Unless vigorous measures be taken for the support of pulpits and parsonages, in a short time we shall have neither parish nor school, and God's Word and worship must succumb."

What was more needed now was, the universal adoption of sound principles, upon which a new and well organized church system might be founded. Judging from previous expressions of Luther, in his address to the German nobility, we might reasonably expect that he would begin to build from below upwards—that is, upon the foundation of the universal priesthood of all baptized Christians. They, having embraced the evangelical doctrine, should organize themselves into a new evangelical association founded upon the Gospel. Other duties, which comprehended the

support of the church and its general protection, he assigned to the civil government. But he continued his lamentations, and in the strongest terms, that there were so many who were not genuine Christians, and who even required elementary instruction in the faith. Here we recognize the idea expressed in his "German Mass," in which he speaks of the expediency of genuine Christians voluntarily assembling and constituting themselves into one harmonious communion. This idea was uttered by him three years previously, in one of his sermons. We should presume that from this time forth firmly established congregations would be formed. Shortly afterwards, in October, 1526, a Hessian Synod was convoked by Landgrave Philip in Homberg, at which a constitution was actually adopted, according to which Christians acknowledging the word of God were authorized of their own accord to inscribe their names as members of Christian evangelical congregations; spiritual shepherds and bishops could be elected by these congregational meetings; and finally, that General Synods for the State Church could be organized by these meetings and by representatives of the congregation.

But as Luther had previously lamented the lack of intelligent and experienced Christians to manage church affairs, so he now freely declared to the Landgrave that he did not feel himself competent to propose an extensive code of laws, and that the people were not as well qualified to do it themselves, as those thought who made laws for the government. Besides this, the thought was intolerable to him, that the mass of those remaining without, who, according to the expression of the Homberg constitution, were to be regarded as heathen, should be left to their fate, without the regular preaching of the gospel, without baptism, and without Christian instruction for their children. As we had occasion to mention before, he deemed the interests of the church inseparably connected with the State, and that it was the duty of all government officers to foster the church. In his earlier writings he had even maintained that it was their duty, in case of necessity, to forbid the hostile attacks of the priesthood upon the gospel. He now extended this view so as to embrace the external abominations of popish worship and the sacrifice of the mass, holding that the State authorities, whose duty it was to cherish the temporal interests of the people, should also control this system of worship, without, however, compelling men to adopt the new doctrine, or

employing force in matters of conscience. This was the tenor of his request at that time in reference to the Catholic members of the institution at Altenberg. Inasmuch as the material means for the temporal support of the church evidently were included in the category of external life and civil order, which the government was bound to maintain, it would only be one step in advance if the temporal authority would prevent the publication of doctrines contrary to God's Word, and to appoint competent preachers of it. Yea, it would, perhaps, not be going too far for this authority to take in hand the reorganization and custody of ecclesiastical affairs as far as it may become outwardly necessary, and if there were no order of worship which any other power had a right to establish. The Elector John, as early as August 16, 1525, issued from his residence in Weimar this proclamation to all the clergy of his jurisdiction: "Hereafter the gospel must be preached without any human additions."

Luther, taking his stand upon these principles and opinions, now urged his own sovereign to employ comprehensive measures for the advancement of the church. As soon as the officers of the University had become settled, and the Order of German Worship had been completed, he began working in behalf of a general "reform of the parishes." At the end of September he writes: "This is the rock of offence which I am now rolling along."

October 31, 1525, was the anniversary of the Ninety-five Theses, and on that day he thus addressed the Elector: "Since the difficulties connected with the Universities have been disposed of, and divine worship reestablished, there remain two things which demand the attention of your Electoral Grace as a temporal ruler and a lover of law and order. The *one* is, the sad condition of the parishes everywhere, and the *other* is, to inquire into the official conduct of his counsellors and officers," of which he had spoken to the prince previously at Wittenberg. He informed him that there was much complaint and dissatisfaction on this subject in cities and in the country. Having received a favorable reply, Luther later said, concerning his last request: "The people who desire evangelical preachers should be urged to personal efforts towards supplementing the salaries of their preachers." He proposed to divide the territory into four or five districts, each of which was to be subjected to a visitation by two

government commissioners. His aim was, the external maintenance of the ministry, and securing the necessary means of their support. Neither were directions for ministers overlooked. Superannuated or incapable ministers, if otherwise pious, were to be instructed to read the gospels and postils publicly, or have them read. He failed to express his opinion in case of an evangelical minister becoming obnoxious, or if he should be treated by his people with indifference. But as we may gather from later consultations, it was proposed that a genuine evangelical ministry should be everywhere settled and supported. He urged upon the Elector the importance and expediency of allowing himself to be used by the Church as a willing instrument in God's hand, and makes this plea: "Your Electoral Highness is implored by us, by our pressing wants, and assuredly of God, to aid us in this sacred work."

Though Luther's plea was thoughtfully considered by the Elector John, it was, nevertheless, not an easy matter to accede to Luther's proposition. Luther knew very well that affairs of importance at court were paramount, and superseded all subordinate interests, and that it was the duty of a prince to devote his prime attention to affairs of state. But he was also apprehensive of the indecision of the prince, being surrounded, as he was, by men noted for their irreligion and selfishness. Indeed, the whole affair was more difficult and complicated than Luther first thought

A whole year passed before the principal work could be taken in hand. Visitations to the parishes were undertaken for the district of Borna in January, 1526, by Spalatin and a civil officer; but during Lent these visits were also made within the limits of Tenneberg, in Thuringia. One of the most prominent and energetic collaborators in the work of reform who took part in this work of inspection, was Frederick Myconius, of Gotha, a warm friend of Luther. The Elector meanwhile instructed the clergy to follow Luther's "German Mass" in conducting divine worship.

The general interests of the German Empire during the summer were also developed to such a condition that the activity of the government in the direction of reform was based upon a safe and promising foundation; and yet at this very time the outlook of the evangelical cause seemed more alarming than at any period since the Diet of Worms.

Charles had brought his war with France to a triumphant ter-

mination. During the war the edict was not enforced, for so many other more important affairs claimed his attention. The peace, however, of January, 1526, concluded at Madrid, with the captured King Francis, was declared by both sovereigns to have for its object the extermination of the Lutheran and other heresies. The Emperor also sent an order to the German princes to make preparation for it, and a number of them hastily assembled for mutual consultation. The League of Torgau was the result of these deliberations. But no sooner was King Francis released from captivity, and returned to France, than he annulled the treaty of peace which he had so solemnly sworn to observe. Pope Clemens, to whom the most flattering prospects of the purification and union of Christendom had been held out, attached more importance to the political interests and temporal possessions in Italy, for which he, the Emperor, and King Francis had violently contended. Alarmed at the overpowering sovereignty of the Emperor, the holy father now exercised his assumed divine authority, and absolutely released the King from the obligation of his oath, and formed an alliance with him against the Emperor. This was called "The holy sign." Of this Myconius says: "For whatever is done by the pope must be called holy, because he is so pre-eminently holy that he can do nothing wrong, and hence God, gospel, and all must be put under his feet."

At this juncture the Turk was also advancing from the East against Germany. At last it became impossible to call a Diet at Spire, originally intended to enforce the resolution of Worms. This Diet resulted in the imperial decree of August 27, 1526, in which it was declared that until a general Christian council, or at least a German national council, were convoked to decide pending questions, every State affected by the Edict of Worms should be allowed to control its own church and civil affairs as it could answer before God and the emperor.

On November 22, 1526, Luther made another appeal to the Elector John, after, as he says, "not having presented a supplication to your grace for a long time." He brought to his attention the case of the peasants who were unruly and recreant to God's Word. He felt like leaving them to themselves, without a minister, "like swine," if it were not for the poor youth, who should be piously cared for. He now laid down important principles which the Government and the States should adopt and practice. He

regarded the ruler of the country as the chief guardian of the youth, and of all who stood in need of education. The cities and villages which were financially able should be compelled to support schools and churches, just as they were compelled to pay taxes for bridges, roads, and other public improvements. He appealed to the command of God and to general necessity. If our duty is neglected in these affairs, the country will be crowded with a lawless rabble. He further argued that since the power of the pope has been weakened, that monasteries and convents should revert to the prince as the chief head of the government, and that upon him devolves the duty, as well as the burden, of thus rectifying affairs, inasmuch as no one else has the authority to do so. He especially conjured the prince not to allow the nobility to seize the estates of the convents and appropriate the revenues to themselves, as was rumored some of them had done. These institutions were founded for the service of God, and what was left of them now should be used for the public good or the poor. Of such of the immediate friends of the Elector who had never felt any interest in the gospel, but now were jubilant over this rich booty and the liberty which the gospel secured them, but which they had abused, Luther complained vehemently.

Now the work was to be energetically begun. The Elector authorized his Chancellor, Brück, Luther, and others to meet in Wittenberg for consultation on the proper measures to be adopted. Inspectors were appointed in February, 1527, of whom Melancthon was one. Work was begun in the Wittenberg district, of which there is no report extant. In July the first important visitation was made in Thuringia.

About this time Luther was visited by severe affliction in his person and family. The system of visitation was also subjected to interruption; and, besides, the University was suffering from internal disturbance, so that from all sides he was assailed by formidable trials.

The first year of his matrimonial life had happily passed, even though at that period already he felt symptoms of calculus, which at a later period became the plague of his life.

On July 7, 1526, he writes to his friend Rühel, that he had been presented "by his dear Katie, through the grace of God, with a little Hans Luther, a hale and hearty first-born." According to another letter, "they had learned to appreciate the blessed

ness of matrimonial life, of which the pope, with his sacerdotal attendants and flatterers, is not worthy."

Amid manifold theological and ecclesiastical labors and preparations for visitations, he nevertheless took a deep interest in domestic affairs. He laid out his garden belonging to the monastery; he superintended the excavation of a well; he ordered his garden seeds from Nürnberg through his friend Link, and radishes from Erfurt. At the same, he wrote to Link for tools for his lathe, with which he and his servant, Wolf or Wolfgang Sieberger, amused themselves. He writes that "the Wittenberger barbarians are very far behind in this art; but in case the world should refuse him a living, as a servant of the Lord, he wanted to earn a livelihood for himself."

During the latter part of January, however, a violent congestion of the heart almost terminated his life, from which however he was soon relieved. He was seized with another attack of sickness, accompanied with a distressing spiritual temptation on July 6th, which left very serious consequences. The anguish of his soul was unspeakable, and he sent for his faithful friend and confessor, Bugenhagen, who undertook to console him and his family with the divine promises and long continued prayer. Following the advice of his confessor, he ventured upon the indulgence of a breakfast, to which he had been invited by the Electoral Hereditary Marshal Hans Loeser. He ate little, but was cheerful in his intercourse with all his guests. After the breakfast, he and Jonas strolled into the garden of the latter for recreation, and he felt sufficiently relieved to invite Jonas and his wife to his house for the evening. But when they came, in the evening, Luther complained of a roaring in his left ear, resembling the noise of the sea. It extended like a tornado through his whole head, occasioning intolerable agony. He concluded to go to bed, but he fainted on the threshold of his chamber, whilst he called for water. Sprinkling with cold water restored him to consciousness, when he began to pray, and converse on spiritual subjects, although after a short interval he was again overcome by a swoon. Augustine Schurf, the physician, being summoned, ordered his body, which had become cold, to be warmed by friction and the application of heated cloths. Bugenhagen also was recalled. The patient blessed the Lord who had imparted to him the knowledge of his name: "God's will be done," he said,

"whether he should die, which would be his gain, or whether He would permit him to continue his work as a living man." He called upon his friends to bear witness, that unto the end he had firmly and truly taught according to God's word. He comforted his wife in the most endearing terms, and tenderly exhorted her to cling to the gospel. He also asked, "Where is my dearly beloved little Hans?" The child smiled in the father's face, who then commended child and mother to that God who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widow. He then directed the attention of the family to several silver cups in his possession, which had been presented to him, and which constituted the only legacy he could leave them. After profuse perspiration he was relieved, and next day he was well enough to rise and partake of his meals. Of this attack he says himself, that though he had calmly expected to die in the presence of his wife and friends, yet that the spiritual temptation itself previously endured was more painful than death itself.

Luther furthermore complained of faintness in the head. Repeated and increased depressions and spiritual agony continued to annoy him. On August 2d, he informed Melancthon, at that time active in the visitations of Thuringia, that for over a week he had been cast about betwixt death and hell, and that in consequence, he was still trembling in all his limbs. Whilst he was thus suffering, it began to be rumored that a pestilence was approaching Wittenberg, and even had already broken out. It was known this terrible scourge had repeatedly raged in Germany, and the very mention of it again spread terror. From mere fear the University was removed to Jena.

Luther, in company with Bugenhagen, whom he assisted in his ministerial duties in his congregation, which now, more than ever, needed a shepherd, concluded to remain. Though his sovereign wrote: "For various reasons, and your own sake, we do not wish to see your connection with the University severed. Come and gratify us." Luther wrote to a friend: "We are here not left alone; Christ, your prayers, and those of all the saints and holy angels are with us."

The plague had really broken out, though not with the violence which corresponded with the general alarm. Luther soon counted eighteen bodies which had been buried in the vicinity of his residence near the Elster gate. The disease originated in the centre

of the city, the so-called Fisherman's District; here died the first victim, the wife of the burgomaster, Tilo Denes, and Luther was present. To friends at other places, he sent encouraging reports, and denied all extravagant statements concerning its virulence. His friend Hess, in Breslau, asked him "whether it was proper for a Christian to fly from a place ravaged by pestilence." He replied in a public letter, which treated of the conduct of a Christian in general under such circumstances. A few of the students remained in Wittenberg, and for these he began a new course of lectures.

In addition to this, he now suffered a renewed attack of an old complaint, which continued to torment him painfully for some months. He observed that a similar trouble had been experienced by him in his youth, but he did not expect that it would grow to such proportions. His anxieties arising from the prevalence of the plague and separation from all his friends, except Bugenhagen, must have contributed to the severity of the attack.

It was also at this time, that he received the melancholy intelligence of the martyrdom of a faithful fellow-believer, the Bavarian minister, Leonard Kaiser, who on August 16, 1527, was publicly burned in Scherding. This event agitated him profoundly. Just as in the previous martyrdom of Henry von Zutphen, he now again expressed the lamentation over his own unworthiness of bearing his dying testimony for Christ on the funeral pile in comparison with these saints of God. He published a narrative of the life and death of Kaiser, furnished by Michael Stiefel, with a preface and peroration. About the same time he published a consolatory epistle to the evangelical Christians at Halle, whose pastor, Winkler, had been murdered the previous April.

In the autumn of this year, he received a new controversial treatise, by Erasmus, against him, which he did not improperly designate as the production of a poisonous serpent, and he was also vigorously carrying on a conflict with Zwingli and Ecolampadius. In a letter to Jonas, he exclaimed, "O that Erasmus and the Sacramentarians (Zwingli, etc.) could only for a quarter of an hour experience the agony of my heart; I am sure they would honestly change their minds; now, my enemies are strong and take a savage delight in heaping upon me pain upon pain, whom God has already so fearfully afflicted."

The plague now attacked some of his own household. The

wife of the physician, Schurf, who at that time lived in the same house with Luther, was seized, but slowly recovered toward the ensuing November. In the parsonage, the wife of chaplain or deacon George Roerer died, November 2d, upon which Luther took Bugenhagen and his family, who were terribly alarmed, into his own house. But very soon, dangerous symptoms showed themselves in the person of Margaret Mocha, who also occupied a room in Luther's house. His wife, just at this time, was anticipating an interesting event, and this created additional anxiety, because Roerer's wife had sickened and died under similar circumstances; but Katharina, as he says, firmly trusted in Providence, and she escaped. At the same time, finally, toward the end of October, his little son John took sick, and would eat nothing for twelve days. As about that time, the 31st, the anniversary of the Ninety-five Theses occurred, Luther spoke to Amsdorf of the troubles which bore down so heavily upon him, and concluded: "Thus there are fightings without and terrors within; but there is one consolation which we can claim in opposition to the raging of Satan: it is the Word of God, which rescues the souls of men, even if Satan torments our bodies. Pray for us, that we may submissively bow to the afflicting Providence of God, and overcome the power and artifice of the devil, whether it be by dying or living. Amen. October 31, 1527."

A short time after this, Luther could send more favorable reports of the sick in his family to Jonas, but still sighed himself under the weight of unspeakable despondency; "I am enduring God's displeasure, because I have sinned against Him; the pope, the emperor, the princes, the bishops, and the whole world hate me, and in addition to all this, my brethren also (he means the Sacramentarians) torment me; my sins, death, Satan with his angels, rage unceasingly, and whither should I fly for comfort, if Christ should also abandon me, for whose sake they hate me? But He will not abandon the poor sinner; never, no, never!" Here follow the words above quoted concerning Erasmus and the Sacramentarians.

Towards the end of December the plague gradually abated. On the 10th he thus writes of his own household: "My little son is well again and cheerful; Schurf's wife has recovered; Margaret has escaped death, against our fears. Five of our swine have died in place of these sick people." And when he returned home this

day from his lecture room, he was greeted with the happy intelligence that he had become the father of a robust daughter, whom he named Elizabeth.

Whilst enduring the mental and bodily sufferings of which we have just spoken, he consoled himself with the assurance that his Lord and Saviour was still with him in the midst of them all, and that God permitted them to come upon him for his own and others' benefit. "What Paul says of himself," he observes, "applies also to me: 'as dying, and behold, I yet live.'" Yea, he would not wish to be delivered from his troubles, if God and his Saviour were glorified thereby.

Luther's famous hymn, "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," as has recently been demonstrated, was most likely first published in a small hymn book, soon after the beginning of this year (1527). We may recognize in it the outpourings of his troubled yet triumphant spirit in those days of severe trial. At least, his language uttered on that anniversary of the reformation harmonizes beautifully with the sentiment of the hymn.

The cessation of the plague and the return of his friends had a happy influence towards delivering him from his physical and mental troubles since the beginning of the new year. In the meantime, after the breaking out of the pestilence, the work of church visitation was suspended. Melanchthon, however, who had repaired to Jena, received directions to sketch rules and methods for the further prosecution of this work, and Luther received in August the articles proposed by him, for examination.

These articles comprehended the principles of the evangelical system of doctrines, which henceforth were to be adopted in the congregations; especially in reference to the common people, who for the most part seemed still deficient in a knowledge of the elements of Christian faith and life, and also in reference to many of the professors of the new doctrine, who, as Melanchthon acknowledged, were not improperly charged with making the doctrine of saving faith a ground of false security, or even a covering of moral obliquity, and that their sermons consisted rather of attacks upon the pope than of edifying instruction. Melanchthon said: "Those men have not conquered the pope, who imagine they have done it." And whilst he taught that those who are grieved on account of their sins should only believe in forgiveness for Christ's sake, and by this faith become righteous before God,

and there alone find comfort and peace, yet he would have the people most impressively warned that this faith could not exist without true repentance and alarm before God; that consolation could only be experienced where this alarm on account of sin was present, and that the divine law with its demands and threatenments must beget this emotion in the soul.

Luther himself had very distinctly taught, and upon the ground of his own experience, that saving faith through the glad tidings of the gospel could only dwell in a heart that was broken and bowed down by the law of God, and, furthermore, that it must show its genuineness by fruits meet for repentance. These two men did not differ in their general views on this great subject, although, perhaps, Luther would not have attached as much importance to one or the other aspect of the subject as Melancthon did. But a loud outcry was now heard from the Romish opponents, that Melancthon no longer dared to uphold the Lutheran doctrine; it was their interest, before this, violently to assail the doctrine itself; and what was more worthy of remark was, that an attack was made upon Melancthon by one of the near circle of friends. Agricola in Eisleben would hear nothing of a repentance which is generated from those oppressions of the law, and from fear of punishment, but only of that which proceeded from the glad tidings of divine love and grace; from this source alone proceeds a genuine fear of God, which fears God not on account of punishment, but for His own sake; this was a distinction which he did not discern in Melancthon's treatise. This was the first time that a doctrinal controversy had occurred among those who, until then, had stood on the common basis of the Lutheran doctrine.

Luther, on the other hand, agreed with the plan, and found very few changes to make in it—the prattle of the opponents did not move him; he also succeeded in securing the acquiescence of the Elector in it; “he who undertakes a divine enterprise must let the devil have his will in chattering and lying as he likes.” He was particularly pleased with what Melancthon had said, “that all this system of rules and measures was set forth in the simplest manner for the benefit of the lower classes.” He also found that in such a sketch, the finer doctrinal distinctions and conclusions would be out of place. He succeeded in silencing Agricola, who wanted to be more Lutheran than he was himself.

After Melanchthon's work had been subjected by the Elector to a thorough examination and discussion at the hands of various parties, it was finally published by his order, with a preface by Luther in March, 1528, and was entitled, "Instructions for the Visitor of the Clergy in the Electorate of Saxony." In the preface, Luther set forth the importance of and necessity for the Church, of such inspection and visitation. He based its necessity upon the fact that, when the bishops and archbishops had become unfaithful to their duty, no one else would have a special call or clear command to perform it; that for this reason the prince of the country, as the divinely-appointed civil authority, had been appealed to, to perform this service for the gospel out of love for Christ and His cause, since he was not bound to do it in virtue of his office as a civil ruler.

In a similar meaning, Luther, at a later period, once designated the evangelical princes as "bishops in time of need." At the same time, these rules of visitation made provision for the permanent office of superintendents, for the benefit of the smaller districts.

In the course of the summer, preparations were made for a visitation embracing the whole electoral territory. Originally, the object was, by a committee, to undertake the different circles, or communities, in regular rotation. It was soon discovered that this plan would occasion much delay and other inconveniences. Instead of that, the more general course was adopted, of sending different committees at the same time to different circles. Each consisted of one theologian and several laymen, jurists, and counsellors of the prince or other official characters. For the electoral circle, Luther was put at the head of the committee. In the mean time the work was begun in some districts sooner than in others. The beginning was made October 22d in the electoral circle, and as is most likely in Wittenberg itself.

Since the 12th of May, he had cheerfully assumed another onerous task. Bugenhagen had left for Brunswick, where at the invitation of the magistracy, he prosecuted the work of the Church reform, and from which place he had gone in October to Hamburg for the same purpose, and remained until the following June. Luther became his substitute as pastor; he preached regularly three or four times every week. In addition to this, he also took part in the visitation, but the field assigned to him did not

take him far from Wittenberg. Thus he was engaged for several months without intermission and then with various interruptions, until the following spring. Since the end of January 1529, he again suffered from vertigo and "roaring" in his head for some weeks; he was not certain whether it was fatigue or a temptation of Satan, and begged the prayers of friends that his faith might not fail.

The destitution and necessary labor resulting from it, which the visitation developed, corresponded to his anticipations. In the electoral circle the state of things was generally favorable; more than three-fourths of the parishes enjoyed the patronage of the Elector, and this had a good effect, and in the towns the magistrates had partly performed their duty. The majority of the clergy at least satisfied the liberal claims, which under given circumstances were made upon them. But in many sections of the territory, the state of things was much worse. A striking example of the gross ignorance which prevailed not only among the peasantry but among their clergy, was discovered in a village near Torgau. The old pastor could hardly repeat the Lord's Prayer or the Creed, whilst in a wide extent of the country he was highly esteemed as a practical exorcist. Deposition of ministers, particularly for gross immorality, intemperance, imprudent marriages, etc., necessarily followed; it became necessary also to forbid others from keeping drinking houses, and from pursuing other secular employments. On the other hand, we scarcely hear of any trouble occasioned by the inclination of some ministers to the Romish church. Luther reports that he found poverty and want on every side. One place was found where the peasants knew no prayer, and another where they refused to learn the Lord's Prayer, because it was too long. Very few village schools were found in all the territory. The visitors were compelled to be satisfied, if the children were, at least, taught the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments, by the sexton. Admission to the Sacrament was made dependent upon a knowledge of them.

Luther performed his part of the visitation in his usual popular and energetic manner, and mingled personally with the people.

Nothing was better adapted to the clergy, who needed a model for their sermons, and for the congregations, whose pastors had, on account of their incapacity, to use the sermons of other men, than Luther's postils. The use of them was ordered where it was



LUTHER'S INTRODUCTION OF THE CATECHISM INTO THE SCHOOLS.

necessary. They had shortly before been finished; after Luther in 1525 had concluded the winter half year series, in 1527, his friend Roth of Zwickau, published the whole collection for the Sundays of the other half year and for the festivals and holy days. These he gathered from earlier single editions or manuscript copies.

But the most important work he felt it his duty now to undertake, was the preparation of a Catechism, adapted to the wants of the common people, and especially for the young. Four years before, already he had tried to prevail upon some friends to undertake this task. In his "German Mass" (1526,) he said: "Above all, what we need in our German church service, is a plain, simple, good catechism," and "that he did not know any better method of setting forth Christian instruction than by the three old principal divisions, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; they contain simply and briefly nearly everything which is necessary for a Christian to know."

Soon after, in the midst of his visitation duties, in the beginning of 1529, he began the preparation of a larger production, which was designed to be a guide to preachers in their religious instruction and sermons—how to explain and enforce the lessons of the three principal divisions, and to set forth the doctrines of baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is his so-called "Large Catechism," originally bearing the simple title of "German Catechism."

Soon after followed the "Small Catechism" (also called *Enchiridion*), which briefly comprehended these lessons in questions and answers, adapted to the understanding of young persons and those who had received no religious instruction. In the introduction he says: "I felt compelled to send forth this catechism on 'Christian Instruction,' in the plainest and simplest form, on account of the wretchedly ignorant condition of the common people, which I have lately observed whilst I was a Visitor. Heaven help us! how my heart was depressed by the painful fact that so many of the common people know scarcely anything of Christian doctrine, particularly in the villages; and, unfortunately, many of the clergy are entirely incompetent to teach." Hence, he implores his clerical brethren to pity the people, and to aid in introducing the catechism among them, and especially among the young people, and if they can do nothing better, to take his tables and forms and teach them word for word.

For the use of the pastors he appended to this catechism a formula of matrimony, and to the second edition, which soon followed, a formula of baptism which he had issued three years before.

This catechism admirably met the wants of those untaught in religious things, and those of every-day and Christian life, for to the principal divisions he added morning and evening prayers, grace before meat, as well as a series of biblical texts adapted to all conditions.

Above all, he exerted all his influence to induce the clergy to impress Christian truth upon the people. But he also aimed at urging every head of a family to instruct his domestics in religious truth, teaching them to pray, to ask God's blessing, and to give thanks.

The catechism was limited to the most simple Christian fundamental truths, without any regard to their polemical aspect. In the preparation of it he used what ancient tradition had handed down, particularly in his explanation of the Lord's Prayer and the appended short prayers. Its originality and transparency, its depth and simplicity, which corresponded to the wants not only of that age but of the present, are sufficiently tested by the use of it during so many years among different ranks of society. Excepting the translation of the Bible, this short production of Luther is the most important and useful for our people.

The visitations ceased when the catechisms were published, although they had not been introduced into every congregation. Other affairs and threatening dangers now claimed the attention of the princes and reformers to an almost exclusive extent.

CHAPTER III.

ERASMUS AND HENRY VIII. CONTROVERSY WITH ZWINGLI AND HIS ADHERENTS, TO 1528.

LET us now recur to the various publications above mentioned concerning Luther in his relation to the champions of Catholic ecclesiasticism during the time immediately succeeding the Peasants' war and his marriage. His controversy with the most distinguished of these, Erasmus, ended on his part with the publication of his book, entitled "De Servo Arbitrio."

To a new book, in two parts, 1526 and 1527, which Erasmus published against him, which, in its contents, was very unimportant, but bitter and insulting in tone, he did not reply. Erasmus gratified himself and his patrons by virulent attacks upon the Reformation, and charged it with bringing ruin upon all the noble arts, and anarchy in the Church, whilst at the same time, in his own fawning style and fashion, and by the help of secular princes he was still trying to promote certain reforms within the old church system and upon its hierarchical principles. But now, as before, he artfully refrained from a consideration of the principles themselves. In Luther's opinion, he continued to be a refined epicurean, who really, but secretly, doubted and scoffed at religion and Christianity.

Luther's letter to King Henry required a long time to reach him and to be answered. The reply may have afforded the royal opponent much enjoyment; it was much coarser than that of Duke George; it particularly took occasion of Luther's marriage, to heap upon him the most malignant scurrility. At New Year, 1527, Emser published an edition in German, to which he appended some of his own abusive and lying charges. Luther wished publicly to reply to this, only lest through his publication the impression might be created that he had already expressed himself in general terms to the King as ready to recant. He did thus reply in a few powerfully written pages. He called attention to the fact, that he had specially excepted in that letter his views on recantation, that he still maintained them defiantly against

kings and devils; that there was nothing that upheld, strengthened, and cheered his heart more than these. To the personal slanders concerning depraved lusts, etc., etc., which Henry VIII., this man of unbounded carnal passions, had heaped upon him, he replied, "that he knew well, that he, as far as his personal life was concerned, was a poor sinner, and allowed his enemies to be pure saints and angels," but he added, "that before God and his dear fellow Christians, he acknowledged himself a sinner, but before the world he would be pious, and to such an extent that they shall not be worthy to tie his shoe-latchets." In reference to his letter, he confessed that in this case as in his letter to Duke George, he allowed himself to be betrayed into a foolish attempt at humiliation. "I am a sheep, and will remain a sheep, because my faith is so weak."

In this production he alludes to adversaries of another character, who wound his heart more deeply—these are his "tender children, his little brothers, his golden little friends; the factious spirits, the fanatics, who never would have known anything valuable about Christ or the gospel, if Luther had not written before." By these he particularly meant the new "Sacramentarians," with Zwingli at their head.

Zwingli now, for the first time, becomes incorporated with the history of Luther. He was always treated by him as a freshly grown scion of that fanatical party, which greatly disturbed his peace of mind. In order to have a clear view of his appearance upon this stage, and rightly to appreciate his character, we must consider some facts relating to his history. He was only a few months younger than Luther, and since 1519, he was prosecuting independent and progressive evangelical and reformatory measures in the church of Zurich. His active labors were extended into other parts of Switzerland, but he was little known in Wittenberg.

His work hitherto had been much more easy in his country than Luther's in Germany. The government, the great Council of the republic, not only protected him, but as early as 1520, in accordance with his views, enacted a law granting liberty to preach the evangelical and apostolic Word; and in 1523 adopted the doctrines which he founded on that basis, and then abolished all idolatrous usages. No imperial decree was held over him as a threat. For political reasons, the pope conducted himself with

extraordinary circumspection and reserve; he delayed long with the ban which had been pronounced against Luther; even Adrian, the uncompromising pope, to whom Luther was an object of abomination, had only gracious, enticing words for the Zurich reformer. At the same time, the Zurich government, in perfect understanding with Zwingli, resolutely opposed the fanatical and anabaptistic intruders, and among the population of the small territory with its free cities, there did not exist that neglected, impoverished mass, so difficult of being influenced by preaching, as the peasant population of Germany. Herein Zwingli had great advantages, and he could prosecute his work with comparative ease.

Neither had he such severe conflicts to encounter as Luther had; he had no need of fighting his way through such dreadful spiritual troubles and satanic temptations. The grand conception of reconciliation with God, and the consolations of conscience through his pardoning grace, was not so distinctly made by him the central point of his religious views and feelings and spiritual interest; he did not comprehend the fervor with which Luther laid hold of all those means, through which this grace is offered to the believing church, and to every individual Christian as the peculiar and personal want of his heart. His view extended itself over religious truth as revealed in the Scriptures as a whole, and this was comprehended in the articles of faith, though distorted by human additions and false interpretations; he had more regard than Luther to enforcement of the moral or ethical requirements of the Scriptures, than a distinct comprehension and acceptance of the doctrinal. Hence a rupture with the past was to him comparatively easy; critical scruples against tradition did not lie as heavily on his conscience, as upon Luther's. The humanistic culture which he pursued exerted an influence upon his critical investigations. In his whole bearing there was displayed a distinct and sober comprehension of things, and a more calm and subdued disposition, compared with Luther's peculiar penetration, and choleric melancholic temperament. Besides, there was connected with his practical activity a legal feature, of which Luther's spirit was entirely free. This was manifested by Zwingli's narrow zeal against the toleration of paintings in the churches. The Wittenberg theologians were compelled to observe, to their regret, evidences of the same tendency in Carlstadt and other fanatics.

Zwingli at the same time abandoned the doctrine of the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament, as well as that of the transubstantiation and sacrificial conception of the Romish church; he, even at a later period, declared that he never really believed them. He quoted against them the words of Christ (John vi. 63,) that the flesh profiteth nothing. He would hear of nothing but a spiritual participation by believers, who through God's word and his Spirit in faith partook of the salvation secured by the death of Christ, and hence that it was not necessary that this salvation should also be offered to individuals by the distribution of the body of Christ given for them, through the sentient medium of bread, and that by this means their faith was strengthened. This was the view of Luther; he held that the practical importance of that presence lay in the fact that he who longed for salvation, or the true believer, was in this particular and peculiar manner assured of and secured forgiveness and communion with his Saviour. Zwingli's conception of God and of that which is divine, was in general antagonistic to that sentient, visible or tangible communication of the gift of salvation; and this idea was of course also inconsistent with the union of the divine and human in Christ, by virtue of which Christ, according to Luther, could and would be present in the sacrament everywhere, in his human, glorified body. Inasmuch as that spiritual participation, according to Zwingli, could be enjoyed everywhere, even irrespective of the sacrament, he further held that the essence of the sacrament did not consist in that spiritual participation itself, but in this, that believers in the commemorative celebration of the death of Christ profess their common faith, and bind themselves together as members of his body; he designated the sacrament as a "badge of duty." We know that Luther, also, from the very first, taught that this, or the communion, was meant to set forth the union of Christians in a spiritual body, or their communion of spirit, faith and love. But he understood this as being only a secondary feature, and according to his view, it was just this partaking of the body of Christ that was to bring them into such fellowship with one another, and with Christ himself.

Zwingli also explained the word "is" in the words of the institution as meaning "represents." *Œcolampadius* preferred the explanation that the bread was not the body in a proper sense, but a figure of the body. Essentially there is no difference

This was the salient point of doctrine upon which the two reformers, the German and the Swiss, spent their antagonistic controversial strength; indeed, it was this which first brought them into contact with each other.

About the same time, Luther encountered another opponent of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper—the Silesian, Caspar Schwenkfeld; he, with his colleague, Valentine Knautwald, also contested the presence of the body, but gave a different interpretation to the words of the institution, and with his conception of the doctrine combined more profound mystical ideas of the way of salvation in general, which in small circles prevail at the present day.

But Luther, as he wrote to Reutlingen, discerned in them all—Carlstadt, Zwingli, Schwenkfeld, and others—only one and the same inflated sentient idea, which twists and turns in every direction so as to avoid submission to the word of God.

He first wrote publicly against Zwingli's doctrine in 1526, in his preface to a book issued by the Suabian preachers, the heading of which is: "Against the new factionists, who are relating new dreams concerning the sacrament, and perplexing the people."

Blow upon blow followed each other in the controversy thus opened. Whilst Œcolampadius wrote a reply to that book and its preface, by which he was particularly assailed, Luther proceeded to still further publications of his own. In the same year there was issued by him "A sermon on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, against the fanatics;" and in the following spring another larger book, thus entitled: "That the words of Christ, This is my, etc., still remain firm, against the fanatics." He concluded with the words, "God grant that they may be converted to the truth, and if not, that by their writings they may so ensnare themselves as to fall into my hands." Zwingli also now wrote against him and to him, and it reached him just as he was issuing the above-named book. It was written in Latin, which Zwingli called "A friendly explanation of the question concerning the sacrament," and which he sent with a letter and a German production which he published immediately after the other as a refutation of Luther's "Sermon," with the title, "Friendly apology for the sermon of the excellent Martin Luther against the fanatics." Zwingli had hardly got Luther's last-named book into his hands when he wrote a new one against it: "That the words of Jesus Christ, This is my body that is given for you, will forever retain

the old and only meaning, and that M. Luther in his last book with his own and the pope's idea has not taught it nor approved it." The language of this title plainly assumed that the opinion of Luther and the pope was the same. At the same time, Æcolampadius issued a pamphlet against Luther's book, which he called "A Reasonable Reply." These are the writings of the "Sacramentarians" which were laid upon Luther's table during the severe visitations of the Wittenberg plague, and which occasioned him the anxiety and sorrows of which we have heard him complain.

If the Zwinglian doctrine in its first announcement appeared in Luther's view as a fanatical, even diabolical contradiction of the truth and of God's word, the subsequent controversy only contributed to render the mutual opposition more acrimonious and persistent. Thus, since the time that the two reformers had entered the arena of controversy, the gulf was widely opened, which has divided evangelical Protestantism into two confessions and church communions.

This is not the place to express a judgment upon the subjects of this conflict, or to discuss extensively the dogmatic positions assumed by the champions. So much, however, in a historical investigation of the matter must be acknowledged and expressed, that it was not, as has been intimated above, an impassioned contention, or mere logomachy, or a discussion of theses of no religious importance, or of dogmatical or metaphysical propositions.

And in the discussion of the several points there were frequent references on both sides to deeper Christian themes and views.

In support of their figurative interpretation of the words of the institution, Zwingli and Æcolampadius brought together not merely biblical analogous expressions, which were more or less appropriate, but also in their practical applications, which Luther regarded as the pure ebullition of human reason, they were actuated by motives of a highly spiritual character; they held that an exalted and reverent conception of God was not compatible with the idea of such an offer of divine gifts in sentient elements and by corporeal participation. Luther, in his literal understanding of those words, was by no means in antagonism to the elevated and free spirit in which he usually comprehended and interpreted the Scriptures. He was not a slave to the very letter; but the

question in this case was of a word of the most peculiar moment and weight—a word of the Lord spoken upon the eve of his redeeming death; and we have already observed of what infinite importance to communicants, in his view, was the presence of the body assured by that Word, for the assurance and self-appropriation of the salvation purchased by Christ. He was not satisfied with any analogy drawn from other figurative expressions in opposition to this plain and distinct language, as little as he denied that such figurative expressions do occur in the Scriptures and everywhere else. It will be remembered that Zwingli quoted the words of our Lord in John vi., “the flesh profiteth nothing,” in defence of his view. Luther maintained that these words had no reference to the flesh of Christ, but that they must be taken in the sense of “a carnal, worldly, human mind,” having no allusion whatever to the Lord’s Supper; but at the same time he vigorously argued that the flesh of Christ in the Sacrament must not be regarded as mere flesh, and that the participation of communicants must not be only a bodily one, but that the Word and promise of God are associated with it, and that by faith only would the participation be salutary. The honor of God would herein be glorified in the highest, because God out of commiserating love has humbled Himself to the lowest degree.

In the doctrine of the Person of Christ to which the controversy was extended, the Church had heretofore simply held a union of the divine and human natures, whereby each nature maintained its peculiar attributes. Luther had more exalted and correct views. He would discern and appreciate the divine in the Man Jesus, which condescends to our low estate, and imparts itself to us in a higher degree, and associate with it a more life-giving energy. As the Son of God he also died for us, and as the Son of Man, together with his body, he is exalted to the right hand of God, which is excluded from no place, and at the same time can be no where and everywhere. True, he gives no explanation how this body is still a human body and a body at all. Zwingli, by keeping the two natures asunder, strove to vindicate as well the exalted majesty of his God as the true humanity of the Redeemer; but in the case of the latter, he represented the two natures as existing side by side. This he did by the use of rigid dogmatical terminology, and by the skillful exegesis and manipulation of the Scripture passages relating to the one Jesus, the Son of God and the Son of Man.

In the mutual treatment of each other by these combatants, there was unhappily displayed on both sides a complete lack of appreciation of those religious and Christian motives which actuated them. We have already heard how Luther conducted himself towards Zwingli in this controversy.

As his zeal usually led him to see in his individual opponents nothing but a manifestation and ruling control of that spirit, certain ruinous workings of which he was sure that he observed in them, and felt it to be his duty to antagonize, so it was also in this case. It is sheer fanaticism, and hence diabolism, against which he breaks out in the most furious expressions.

From the conciliatory titles of his books, and the correspondence which he solicited from Luther, we would naturally expect a different behavior from Zwingli. He assumed a tranquil, refined tone, and different from Luther, he had his own feelings under control. But with all this, he expressed himself on Luther's positions with proud disdain, as though they were the productions of contemptible narrowness and vanity, yea, even a relapse to popery. Besides this, his letter embittered the strife by dragging in other reproaches, and among them was Luther's conduct during the Peasants' War. Luther could say of him: "He storms and rages against me with the greatest moderation and modesty." It must be acknowledged that he conducted his controversies with honest directness, but at the same time he was rude and coarse, full of self-confidence and conceit, and always triumphing in the vain consciousness of victory.

When Luther got into his hands the last mentioned writings of Zwingli and Ecolampadius, he resolved to publish only one final answer, for Satan should not hinder him from doing other work, which in his view was far more important. He was at that time laboriously engaged in his translation of the Scriptures, and was now at work on the Prophets. The reply gradually grew to the dimension of his important book in that controversy. He called it, "Of the Supper of Christ: a Confession." It appeared in March, 1526. He again took up the most important points and questions which had been controverted, and expanded them with his ideas of the person and presence of Christ, and calmly but impressively considered the appropriate passages of Scripture. To the end he appended a concise confession of his Christian faith in general, so that it might be known after his death that he

had most conscientiously studied the whole subject—that he had fully made up his mind on these points, so that no future teachers of error might say, that upon further examination and at another time he would have taught differently.

Zwingli and Ecolampadius hastened to prepare new rejoinders, and to publish them at the same time, with a dedication to the Elector John and Landgrave Philip. He let them have the last word, as he had before allowed Erasmus. They brought forward no new arguments in defense of their side.

Whilst Luther was about issuing his last work against the Sacramentarians, he found himself compelled to take up arms once more against the Anabaptists; it is the little book, "Of Anabaptism; to two Pastors." He, however, expressed himself strongly against the manner in which the government treated these Sectarists. Even before charges of sedition or tumult could be proved against them, they were condemned to punishment and death on account of their principles. He held that every man should be allowed to believe as he pleased. In the same strain he also wrote to Nürnberg, where, as we have seen, the later propagators of error had risen; he could in no way consent that the false prophets or teachers should be executed; it is enough to teach them to do better. On this subject Luther distinguished himself from most of the men of the reformation. In Zurich, from which place Zwingli charged him with cruelty, Anabaptists were put to death by drowning just at that time.

But the contest with Catholicism now again assumed the most prominent position, and especially the opposition to those German princes who were inimical to the reformation, and against the Emperor himself and a majority of the imperial diet.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TURKISH WAR. THE MARBURG CONFERENCE. 1529.

IN the war against the pope and France, an imperial army stormed and plundered Rome in 1527. God so directed events, said Luther, that the emperor who persecuted Luther for the pope, should lay waste the pope for Luther. But Charles could not break with the chief head of the church. In a treaty to which the pope was compelled to give his assent in November, the eradication of the Lutheran heresy was again a prominent article. And whilst in Italy the war against France still continued, the emperor in the Spring of 1528 sent an ambassador to the German courts with the purpose of exciting their interest in this ecclesiastical design.

Before the danger really approximated the Protestants, many alarming reports and false alarms preceded.

There was to be held another Diet in Ratisbon, in March 1528. In February Luther heard of dreadful projects, which the papists had in view. He was exceedingly anxious that the influence of Ferdinand, the brother of Charles, who was then engaged in the war against the Turks in Hungary, should be secured to prevent the meeting of the Diet. Also, on the other hand, it was feared that the imperial States would make decisions unfavorable to the Romish interests, and the emperor would withhold his consent from the meeting.

At the same time, a dismissed Councillor of Duke George, John von Pack, communicated to the Landgrave Philip, the fact that the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, and several bishops, had made a treaty with Ferdinand, in which they bound themselves to fall upon the evangelical princes; the Electorate of Saxony, into which John was now engaged in introducing the new system of church affairs, was to be divided among them, and that Hessia should be assigned to Duke George. John and Philip without delay entered into a mutual alliance of defence and support, and commenced gathering an army. It however soon became evident that they had been

deceived by Pack, who had already received a large sum of money for the communication of the secret. Luther did not doubt the genuineness of the treaty, and even subsequently would not give up this opinion. But whilst the Landgrave insisted upon rushing into the conflict before his enemies had thoroughly armed themselves, Luther and the other Wittenberg theologians held their princes back from every desperate measure by the most powerful arguments. Luther employed the words: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the land; as far as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men; all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword." In his quaint language, he also said: "We should not paint the likeness of the devil above our doors, nor invite him to be our sponsor." He feared a war of the princes which would be more disastrous than the insurrection of the peasants, and would utterly ruin Germany. Philip consented to refrain, until the proceedings of his enemies should convince him of Pack's deception. A private letter of Luther's to Link, in which he called George a fool and doubted his assurances, and of which he was informed afterwards, led to a new difficulty between them. The Duke violently assailed Luther in a pamphlet in 1521, which brought out from Luther a no less violent reply, in which he freely expressed his views upon the abuse of "private and stolen letters." George rejoined in the same style, and soon succeeded by his complaints against Luther, in procuring a prohibition from his cousin John, that Luther should not be allowed to publish anything more against him except by electoral permission, upon which Luther was silent, of course.

On November 30, 1528, the emperor announced a Diet to be held at Spire, on the 21st of the following February, for the purpose of adopting energetic and decisive measures in behalf of the unity and exclusive sovereignty of the Catholic church, to which the pope also strenuously urged him. Preparations for the war against the Turks, and the innovations in religion, were mentioned as the principal subjects for consideration.

As to the Turkish war, Luther, from whom we have heard above an incidental expression upon certain favorable effects of this war as antagonistic to papal projects, in the meantime uttered sentiments in favor of rousing the entire nation to arms against this formidable and terrible enemy, by whom it had suffered itself to be so ignominiously treated. Since the summer of 1528 he had

occasionally been engaged upon a pamphlet on "The War against the Turks;" the publication, delayed by contingencies, ensued in March. He was at the same time employed upon his catechism.

He here again addressed the Germans, as a Christian, citizen, and patriot, in language full of intense fire and irresistible force, maintaining the standpoint previously assumed with transparent clearness and emphasis. His design was not to preach a new crusade, for the sword is not to be employed in defending matters pertaining to the faith, but only those which concern the personal and worldly interests of men. Hence, in terms of lofty patriotism he called upon the government, to which God had entrusted the civil power, to take up the sword against this relentless enemy, in reliance upon God and in the full consciousness of its vocation to exterminate this foe of God and man; and it is the Emperor in whom he sees the government of Germany concentrated; it was his duty to war against the Turks; under his standard it should be waged, and on this standard should be inscribed the word of God: "Defend the godly, punish the wicked," etc. "But," asks he, "how many are there who will read these words on the banner or really believe them?" He complains that neither emperor nor princes properly believe that they are endowed of God with great power, and that they are little concerned about the protection which they owe to their subjects. He furthermore boldly tells the princes that they so neglect this momentous affair just as if they had no interest in it whatever, instead of offering themselves and their property and help in every way to the support of the emperors. He says he is well aware of the vanity of several princes, who would gladly see the emperor out of the way, that they themselves might be the heroes and masters. The insurrection of the peasants was punished, but if the insurrection of the princes and nobles was to be punished, he thought there would be very few princes and nobles remaining. He fears that the Turks would inflict such punishment, and prays God that it may not come to this pass. He also, finally, urges upon them not to regard the preparation of arms an affair of small importance, as is usually done in Germany. He warns them against tempting God by defective preparation, and thus sacrifice the poor Germans to slaughter; and further, that after they have secured some advantages, they "should not again sit down at ease and carouse until a new danger would arise."

In Spire, all the zeal of the imperial commissioners and of those States inclined to the old church system, was directed not against the common enemy of Germany and of Christendom, but to the internal affairs of the church. They succeeded in forcing through a resolution providing that those States which had adhered to the edict of Worms, should continue their allegiance to it with their subjects. The other States should at least desist from any other innovations, should not prevent any one from hearing Mass, and that the subjects of one State who were dissatisfied with church arrangements should not on that account be protected by another. By this proceeding not only was any further spread of the evangelical reformation positively forbidden, but even in those sections of the country where it was at that time in full progress, it was at once brought to a full stop. By this action, concerning the Mass, room was left for attempts to re-introduce it into evangelical territories; by that, concerning the subjects of individual States, room was left for the exercise of episcopal authority, which the bishops of the German empire always claimed over the priests of these provinces as subject to their control. Further steps in this direction could easily be anticipated.

On April 19th, a protest was issued by the Evangelical party, from which they received the name "Protestants." They resolutely maintained that the former decree of Spire, unanimously passed (of the year 1526), could be changed by a unanimous vote, and declared "that even without this, in affairs relating to the glory of God and the soul's salvation, each man must stand before God and give an account for himself." In these matters they would not submit to the voice of a mere majority.

But the majority and Ferdinand, the brother and representative of the Emperor, would not recognize their right to any such opposition. They must make up their minds that power would be employed to bring them to terms. To protect themselves against this threat the Elector and Landgrave, with the cities of Nürnberg, Strassburg and Ulm, entered into an alliance. The Landgrave insisted upon strengthening it by drawing in Zurich and other places in Switzerland evangelically inclined. A similar proposition came from Zwingli, who, in connection with his church operations, was boldly and extensively engaged in political State affairs. He had succeeded in entering into a union with the Republic of Venice and the King of France against the Em-

peror, thereby surely overestimating the importance of his city in the great commercial trade of the world, and cherishing an artless confidence in the opinion of that king.

Luther strongly opposed all warlike efforts in behalf of the Gospel in this case, not less than in the affair of Pack, mentioned above. He earnestly protested that they should build upon God and not upon human power or talent. In relation to the last Diet he was also satisfied that God had there not afforded farther room for the frantic rage of the enemy. He was even anxious to cherish for the Emperor an unshaken confidence. He desired that the friends of the Gospel should represent to him, that all they asked for was the abolition of abuses, which nobody could wholly deny; how they vigorously resisted the iconoclasts, and all other fomenters of disturbance; how even they had selected it as their special service to combat the Anabaptists and the Peasants; how the prerogatives and dignity of the Government were first properly illustrated through their agency; these representations, he earnestly hoped, would have a favorable influence upon the Emperor. He promptly rejected any alliance with those who contended against God and the Sacrament, *i. e.*, with the Swiss. By such an act the Gospel would be put to shame, and men would be partakers of their sins. His judgment, with which the other Wittenberg theologians, and especially Melanchthon, agreed, was decisive for the Elector.

The Landgrave, however, used all his influence to remove this hindrance to an alliance with the Swiss. He was anxious to bring about a personal interview and oral discussion between the opposing theologians in the question of the Sacraments. Luther and Melanchthon were vehemently averse to it, for in the previous controversies there was not a single point manifested on which the slightest hope of a reconciliation, or even an approximation to it, could be based. Luther reminded them of the fact that the Leipzig disputation, ten years before, had only enhanced the evil.

They also apprehended that artifices would be employed on the other side to exhibit them in a false light, as enemies of union and hindrances to an alliance; and further, that attempts might be made to prejudice the Landgrave against them. Besides this, Melanchthon had brought back from Spire, where he often saw the Landgrave, a suspicion that he was inclined towards the Zwinglians; and so much was true at least, that doctrine did not

appear so important to him as it did to the Wittenbergers. But on account of these apprehensions alone, Luther could not and would not refuse the invitation which Philip, the Landgrave, insisted upon his accepting, and to which his Elector at last gave his consent. He remarked to the former on June 23, that he was willing "to render him doubtful service with all diligence," but besought him again to consider whether it would produce more good than evil. The meeting was appointed for Marburg, on St. Michael's day.

A letter written in the meantime to a distant friend, pastor Brismann, in Riga, and despatched August 2, shows Luther's views on the subject. In it he says: "Philip (Melanchthon) and I, after we had long and in vain resisted it, were at last compelled by the shameful importunity of the Landgrave, to consent, and yet I do not know whether the journey will be undertaken; we hope for nothing good, but suspect artifice on all hands, so that our opponents may be able to boast of a victory. . . . I myself am in pretty good bodily health, but internally weak, like Peter suffering for lack of faith; but the prayers of the brethren sustain me . . . that young Hessian is uneasy and full of fiery thoughts. . . . Everywhere danger is more to be apprehended from our own side than from the enemy. Satan, in his blood-thirstiness, has not yet ceased to instigate murder and bloodshed."

In the same letter Luther reports the alarm occasioned in Germany by the breaking out of a new pestilence, the so-called English Sweat, and that it had reached Wittenberg. It was a plague only known for thirty years or more, which carried away with fearful celerity its victims, who were attacked with fever, perspiration, thirst, anxiety, and exhaustion. Luther also acknowledged that it was a most dangerous disease where it was once introduced. But without alarm he now noticed the presumed indications of it in Wittenberg, and observed that here fear made many sick more than the reality. On the 27th he informs another friend that in the preceding night he himself waked up in a state of profuse perspiration, and had been tormented with alarming thoughts, so that if he had yielded to them, he also would be sick in bed like so many others. He also mentioned several friends whom he chased out of bed, to which they had betaken themselves, and who now heartily laugh at their conduct.

In the meantime the Emperor made a final alliance with the

pope on June 29, and concluded a peace with King Francis on August 5. He obligated himself to the pope to prepare efficient measures against the pestilent teachers of false doctrine, and this treaty of peace renewed the declaration of the Madrid treaty relative to a general effort of the rulers in the extermination of the heresies.

The theological leaders of the great religious commotion now really met at Marburg, whose design was to set the gospel in opposition to the sovereignty of Rome, and from which their condemnation as heretics had already proceeded. It was to be decided whether they might not yet be united among themselves; whether the two parts of this evangelical movement, yet inimical to each other, might not be bound together in one great body, in view of the common danger and destiny. The political bearing of Zwingli, and the cheerful and submissive willingness with which he consented to the Landgrave's proposition, led to the expectation that with all his persistence in his doctrine, he would still extend his hand to such a union, in spite of doctrinal differences. Everything really depended essentially upon Luther.

Zwingli and Œcolampadius, with the Strasburg theologian Bucer, and Hedio, and Jacob Sturm, the head of the civil corporation there, met in Marburg on September 29; the day after came Luther and Melanchthon, besides Jonas and Cruciger, from Wittenberg, and Myconius from Gotha; afterwards arrived the preachers Osiander from Nürnberg, Brenz from Swabach-Hall, and Stephen Agricola from Augsburg. The Landgrave splendidly entertained these, his invited guests, in his castle.

On the day after their arrival, October 1, the Landgrave brought about a private conference between Luther and Œcolampadius, for whom he had always a profound esteem. The more gentle Melanchthon was also invited to a private interview with Zwingli. Not a word was said by either of the parties on the principal controversial subject, the question of the sacrament. But on certain other points concerning which the Wittenbergers had some suspicion of Zwingli, and in which he at least differed from them in part, especially on the church doctrine of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of Original Sin, Zwingli gave such explanations to Melanchthon that they both harmonized perfectly.

The great colloquy was opened on Saturday, at 6 o'clock in the

morning. The theologians met in a chamber of the Landgrave, in the east wing of his castle, in his presence and that of many gentlemen and guests of his court, and amongst them was the expatriated Duke Ulrich of Wurtemberg. Out of regard to such an audience, German was to be the language spoken. Zwingli, however, requested that every one who desired it might be admitted as an auditor of the proceedings, but that these should be conducted in the Latin language, that being more familiar to him. The four theologians, above named, in order to carry on the discussion, were seated at one table; but Luther took nearly the whole of it upon himself, inasmuch as Melanchthon said very little. The Landgrave's chancellor, Feige, then opened the meeting with an impressive address.

In the beginning, Luther desired that his opponents should, above all, first express their minds upon those doctrinal points which appeared doubtful to them; but he relinquished this purpose when Œcolampadius replied that he was not conscious of anything in them that was contrary to Luther's doctrine, and Zwingli appealed to his agreement with Melanchthon. Luther said, his only intention was openly to declare that he by no means agreed with certain expressions on these subjects in their earlier writings. Upon this, the principal question was introduced.

The grounds and the opposite arguments, which had been developed by the combatants in their different writings, were here again briefly and comprehensively brought into the field. They did not receive any further elucidation or confirmation. The disputants themselves were compelled by this oral discussion to give more patient attention to the remarks of their opponents, than could be done in a written discussion, which is often hastily and impatiently executed.

Luther, from the beginning, took his stand simply upon the words of the institution: "This is my body." He had written them in chalk upon the table before him. The opponents should give the honor to God, for they believed "the pure, naked words of God."

Zwingli and Œcolampadius, on the other hand, supported themselves principally upon the words of Christ in John vi. 6, where he speaks only of a spiritual partaking, and declares that the flesh profiteth nothing; that the glory must be given to God, in that men accept from him this simple illustration of his words.

Luther agreed, as he had always done, that Jesus in that passage was speaking only of a believing spiritual partaking, but maintained that He, according to the words of the institution, also added the offer of His body to the strengthening of our faith, and that this was not superfluous or unnecessary, but is efficacious by virtue of God's word. Luther said: "He would eat galls if the Lord would lay them before him, without asking the reason." He became rather violent when Zwingli replied that the passage "would break his neck," for the expression was not understood by him as it was by the Swiss; the Landgrave, himself, found it necessary to step between them as a pacificator.

In the afternoon Luther's opponents proceeded further in their analysis, and said that Christ could not be bodily present in the Sacrament, for his body is with him in heaven, and the body, as body, is locally circumscribed, and can only exist in a circumscribed place. Luther now asked how Zwingli could give such a coarse, literal interpretation to Christ's being in heaven and sitting at the right hand of God. He would not adopt any decision on the locality of the body, although he could discuss the subject at length; for the omnipotence of God, by virtue of which he could cause the presence of the body in the sacrament everywhere, was far beyond human calculation and comprehension. Zwingli now adduced an argument which must have been of more weight to Luther than any he had thus far used. It was, that Christ in his flesh "was like unto his human brethren," and that they, in the "restitution of all things, will be made like unto his glorious body," whilst their bodies surely cannot be at different places at the same time. Luther met it by affirming that there is an essential difference between that which Christ has in common with Christians, and that which He has not in common with them, or what is peculiar to himself. He had not all which men have, nor have they all, even "in the resurrection," which He has, although their bodies may be "glorified like unto His own."

On the following day, Sunday, Luther preached the early morning sermon. He discoursed on the Gospel of the day, without making any allusion to the subject in controversy. His subject was, "Forgiveness of sins and righteousness by faith."

The disputation was continued this day. The presence of the body in the sacrament was resumed. Luther would not allow that the presence was local; the body is not local, or locally cir-

cumscribed in its presence. On the other hand, the Swiss would not deny the possibility of a miracle, that God might cause a body to be present at different places at the same time; but they demanded proof that this is really the fact in regard to the body of Christ. Luther again appealed to the words, "'This is my body.' I cannot really set aside these words of my Lord, but must confess that the body of Christ is truly there." Here Zwingli abruptly interrupted him, and said, "Then you also confine this body to one place, for *there, there* is an adverb of place." But Luther was not willing that his simple expression should be thus tortured into that sense, and again referred to the incomprehensibility of the subject by human reason.

On this second day, Zwingli and Œcolampadius aimed at adducing evidence in their favor from Christian antiquity. They could with some confidence appeal to Augustin. But Luther interpreted him differently, and was at any rate not willing to recognize him as any authority as directly opposed to the Scriptures. The disputation closed in the evening. Neither party would acknowledge that it was refuted by the other from the Word of God, and each left the other to be converted to its side by the judgment of God. Zwingli shed tears.

In vain the Landgrave exerted himself to bring them nearer together. At the same time it was reported that the dreaded pestilence, the English Sweat, had broken out in the city. The transactions were suspended by order of the Landgrave, and he, with his guests, hurried away. In haste he made arrangements, that upon the points in which it was evident that the Swiss agreed with the evangelical faith, Luther should prepare a series of theses, which were to be signed by the theologians of both sides. This was done as early as Monday. They constitute the fifteen "Articles of Marburg." They express unity in all other doctrines, and also in reference to the sacraments, in so far as the following: "The sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the true body and blood of Christ, and the spiritual participation of this body is especially necessary." It was still under discussion, "Whether the true body and blood of Christ were corporeally present in the bread and wine."

If we now compare the manner in which this discussion was conducted in Marburg with the way in which it had previously been carried on, when one party was maligned by the other as

devilish fanatics, and the other as apostate papists and worshipers of "a God made of bread," it must be admitted that the disputation at Marburg, and the manner of it, terminated in important results. The tone here was more refined, more fraternal. The more moderate method of discussing this subject which prevailed here, could not have been the result of a forced constraint which they assumed. When Luther wished to be specially impressive, he addressed his opponents as, "My dearly beloved, my highly honored gentlemen." The eye-witness Brenz says that he and Zwingli might have been taken for brothers; and then they agreed upon all points of doctrine except the one. More acute differences of conception, which could not now be reconciled, were for the present overlooked. But their variation on the one great point, and the spirit that was manifested, still rendered it impossible for Luther to extend a fraternal hand, which Zwingli and his friends earnestly desired. Luther persisted: "You have a different spirit from us." His associates were entirely of his opinion, that whilst they could entertain for those men the warmest friendship and Christian love, yet that they dare not recognize them as brethren in Christ. In the Marburg Articles, thus much was said, that though upon that one point they had not yet come to perfect harmony, yet "that each party would show toward the other the highest degree of Christian affection, as far as their consciences would allow."

On Tuesday afternoon, Luther left Marburg for home. Agreeably to the desire of his Elector, he journeyed by way of Schleiz, where the Elector at that time was holding an interview with the Margrave of Brandenburg upon the subject of the Protestant Alliance. They now desired Luther to furnish them with a comprehensive, brief confession of the evangelical faith, to which they would bind themselves. Luther immediately framed one founded on the Marburg Articles, adding some things and expressing others more distinctly in accordance with his views. On October 18th he arrived safely in Wittenberg.

That Confession was soon after laid before a meeting of Protestants in Swabach. The result of it was that Ulm and Strasburg refused to join the Alliance, from which the Swiss also remained excluded.

Within the Alliance the question was now earnestly agitated, how far the Protestant States should proceed in resisting force

with force, if the Emperor should try to compel them to subjection. Luther on this point was equally unshaken. Whatever worldly authorities and counsellors might say, in his judgment the question should be settled in the minds of Christians by the fact that government was a divine ordinance, and that the Emperor was the government or chief ruler of Germany. Above all this, his conception of imperialism, and of the relations of the electoral princes to it, were brought into consideration. He looked upon them as subjects of the emperor, as he regarded the burgomasters of cities, and the various grades of nobility in their territories, as their subjects, and to them surely the electors themselves have given no right to oppose their measures even by protest, much less by force.

He did not demand patient submission to a government or emperor, let it be bad as it might; but, on the other hand, even admitted that an emperor might possibly be deposed. He says: "Sin or unfaithfulness does not overthrow government and the obligation of obedience, but punishment does—that is, if the empire and the electors would unanimously depose the emperor, so that he would cease to be such; as long as he remains unpunished, and continues to be emperor, no one has a right to withhold obedience from him." The forcible resistance of some individual state was on these grounds repugnant to him, because with his conception of the German empire there was connected the idea of a united strong community or state, and not that of an alliance, the independent members of which had the right of resorting to arms against any violation of a treaty.

His Elector and the Nürnbergers took the same view of the subject. As these Protestants refused submission to the decree of Spire for conscience sake, they also felt bound in conscience, as was proper, to bear the consequences of their refusal. Luther's opinions on the proper conduct of the Protestant States were at that time the same which he had expressed to the Elector upon his return from the Wartburg—namely, that they should permit the Emperor, if God should allow it to proceed so far, to interfere with the affairs of their provinces, and even against the interests of their subjects, yet without giving their consent or in any way abetting it. But he adds: "It is unbelief which does not trust God to think that he does not know how to protect us without our genius or power—'in quiet and confidence shall be your strength.' Is. xxx. 15."

At the same time, Luther was desirous of discharging his duty towards the Turks. They had advanced as far as Vienna in immense numbers, and sorely pressed the poorly fortified, but bravely defended city. Whilst Luther was preparing for his journey homeward, they were storming the city furiously. This intelligence moved him profoundly. He was assailed by fearful temptations and anguish of spirit, which he attributed to the Turks and to their god, the devil. Soon after his return, he undertook to write a "Campaign Sermon against the Turks." On October 26th, he heard that they were compelled to retreat. That was to him "a divine miracle." But whilst many thought that his admonitions and apprehensions were extravagant, he very wisely saw only a postponement of the danger. He published his sermon, which reached a new edition at New Year.

In his view, the Turks fulfilled the prophecy of Ezekiel, and of the book of Revelations, concerning Gog and Magog, and with this he associated a divine decree of punishment upon corrupted Christendom. But, as in his first pamphlet on this subject, he called upon the Government to protect the people against the common enemy by virtue of the authority vested in it of God, he now invoked German Christians boldly and conscientiously to march to the field of battle, and fight valiantly under the banner of God. He held up before them the example of "St. Moritz and his associates," and many other saints, who had served their Emperor as knights or citizens in arms, freely sacrificing life and property for the good cause. It was his desire, if it came to the word, "that every one should resist who could," young and old, man and woman, servant and maid, as the Romans reported that the German women and virgins had in old times also fought against them. He did not consider any family too weak or small that might not contribute to the defense. Still it would be better to be slain at home in obedience to God than to be captured and carried away, and sold like cattle. He consoled those who might be thus unfortunate—as Jeremiah did the Jews in Babylon, and implored them to cling to their faith in their captivity, and not allow themselves to be led away either by their sufferings or the soul-flattering worship of the Turks.

Thus he preached to his people, whilst at the same time, in letters to friends, he complained, "The Emperor Charles is threatening us with sorer grievances than the Turks, so that we have

an Emperor on both sides as our enemy, an eastern and western one." And yet he advised the confessors of the gospel "to keep their hands pure from blood and outrage," with regard to their Emperor, and even if "his treatment of them be offensive, and even devilish," yet to cling with prayers and hopes to their God, whose help they had so wonderfully experienced in times that are past.

CHAPTER V.

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, AND LUTHER AT COBURG, 1530.

AN imperial mandate which summoned a new diet to meet at Augsburg on April 8, 1530, seemed to promise more peaceful results. The design was announced to be a consultation on the question how "the differences and dissensions in the holy faith and the Christian religion may be treated and settled," and to accomplish this purpose, "the opinions and doctrines of each party were to be heard in all kindness and good will, and thus by comparison and perfect understanding, to be reduced to one only Christian system." It was by no means the opinion of the emperor, as might be assumed from this declaration, that the two opposing parties should treat with each other on equal footing, but he still claimed superior rights for the Church of Rome as firmly as ever before. His design only was, if yet possible, to avoid a dangerous internal war. The papal legate also was in favor of first employing conciliatory measures. Luther expressed confidence in the emperor, which he was so anxious to cherish. On March 14th, he wrote to Jonas, "The Emperor Charles, as he writes, will himself be in Augsburg, in order to settle all things amicably." The Elector John ordered his theologians to prepare articles expressing their own opinions, which were to be presented to the Diet, and at the same time to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him to Augsburg. But there was no hurry about their arrival at that place, for the emperor tarried so long in Italy, that no specified time could be determined.

On April 3, Luther, Melanchthon, and Jonas proceeded to Torgau to meet the Elector and to start with him on their journey from that place. He also took Spalatin with him, and Agricola as preacher. On Palm Sunday, the 10th, they tarried in Weimar, where the prince desired to celebrate the Lord's Supper with them. On the 15th, they arrived at Coburg, where they were to wait for further information concerning the actual opening of the Diet. Luther here preached on Easter Sunday, and again on the following Monday and Thursday on the texts for the day.

On Friday, the 22d, the Elector received an order from the emperor to appear in Augsburg at the end of the month. On the next morning he entered upon the journey, with his retinue. But Luther was to remain behind. The man, upon whom were yet lying in full force the imperial decree and the ecclesiastical ban, could not in that condition, however favorably even the emperor might be disposed towards him, be brought before him, the States and the representatives of the pope and the church, and no safe conduct would have protected him. He himself, however, seems to have been so unconstrained about it as to presume that he would accompany them; at least, he wrote to a friend and said, "The prince has ordered me to remain at Coburg, and I do not know why." To another he, however, gives as a reason, "that it would not be safe for him to go to Augsburg; but that the prince would keep him as near at hand as possible, at some secure place on the frontiers of his own territory," that Luther's advice might easily be received. A possibility that he might be at a later period called to Augsburg, was also intimated. At that time it required four days usually to convey a message from Coburg to Augsburg.

On the night of the 22d, Luther was conducted to the fortress which overlooks the town of Coburg. This was designated as his place of residence.

The first day he had no employment whatever. A trunk, filled with papers and other things which he had brought with him, was not yet delivered to him. No castellan or other officer had made his appearance. He spent this first day in admiring the enchanting landscape which extended in every direction from his elevated position, and in roaming through the apartments of the castle which were open to his inspection. The principal edifice, the present so-called *Furstenbau*, was assigned to him, and the keys of all the chambers were put into his hands. The room which he selected for his private use is still pointed out to the curious traveler. He was informed that more than thirty persons lived in the castle.

But his thoughts accompanied the friends who had continued their journey. He wrote immediately to Melanchthon, Jonas and Spalatin. "Dearest Philip," he begins to Melanchthon, "we have finally reached our Sinai, but we shall make a Zion out of this Sinai, and have built three tabernacles, one to the Psalter, one to

the Prophets, and one to Æsop. . . . This is a very attractive place and admirably adapted as a place for study; only your absence saddens me. My whole heart is roused against the Turks and Mohammed, as long as I see this intolerable raging of the devil. Hence I will pray and cry to God, and not rest until I know that my appeal is heard in heaven. You are more tormented by the present dreadful condition of affairs in our German empire." He then describes his present residence "in the kingdom of the birds." To the other two friends, he writes in a more pleasant tone, and gives a humorous sketch of the noisy clamors of the rooks, which he begins to hear at four o'clock in the morning. "This," says Luther, "I write in jest, but in earnest jest, that I may repel the depressing thoughts that are constantly pressing upon my mind." A few days after, he carries the jest still further in a letter to some of his young Wittenberg friends, who formerly boarded in his family, which was customary in those times. He compares this noisy conclave of the rooks to an assembly of Sophists and Papists, carrying the analogy through various particulars, in a very humorous picture.

As associates, he had his amanuensis, Veit Dietrich, of Nürnberg, and his sister's son, Cyriak Kaufman, a young student from Mansfeld. The best provision was made for their entertainment. Here, doubtless for conscience sake, he allowed his beard to grow, as earlier on the Wartburg.

In that letter to Melancthon, he mentioned some work which he had laid out for himself. Before all, however, he now prepared an "Admonition to the Clergy assembled at the Diet at Augsburg." He says in the introduction, that as he could not personally appear at the Diet, he would at least be present with them in "this mute and feeble message," which he, however, made as vigorous and forcible as possible. He distinctly told them that he did not need a Diet to settle his own cause. The true Helper and Counsellor had thus far controlled it, and had brought it to the position which it would continue to hold. He again called their attention to the principal errors and abominations which he had thus far controverted, and warned them against "drawing the strings too tight," lest they should excite another tumult. He also boldly uttered the sentiment, that if they would only allow the gospel to be free, their principalities, territories and other possessions, about which alone they were

concerned, should remain. This Admonition was printed as early as May.

He was now constantly at work, and especially at his German Bible, and more particularly at the translation of the Prophets, of the difficulties of which he had long complained, and for which he hoped now to have the necessary time. In his zeal, he even thought that whilst he was yet at work on Jeremiah, he could finish all the Prophets before Whitsunday, which he, however, soon found to be impossible. But in addition to his other work, he published that prophecy of Ezekiel on Gog and Magog, independently of the rest. His desire was to prepare several selections from the Psalms for the benefit of the congregations; for the Psalms he prized most highly, and used them daily as his prayer-book and a source of consolation. Thus, his first selection was the 118th Psalm, of which he published a beautiful explanation. He also dictated interpretations of the first twenty-five Psalms to Dietrich; the manuscript, which the latter left after him, was subsequently published.

And to all this, he added the fables of Æsop; his desire was to "prepare them for the young and for the common people, to whom they might be very useful." No doubt time failed him for the accomplishment of his laudable purpose, for we have only thirteen of those fables translated and illustrated by him. He rendered them in the plainest and most popular language, and applied them in many striking German proverbs.

Luther thought in the beginning, whilst immersed in so many laborious engagements, it would have been better if he had remained in Wittenberg, where he could have been more usefully employed as a professor.

Very soon he again experienced severe bodily attacks, affection of the head, roaring in the ears, and a disposition to syncope, so that sometimes for several days together, he could neither read nor write, and for several weeks could not work continuously. He did not know whether to attribute it to the generous fare which was furnished him, or that he should blame Satan. Dietrich thought that the sickness must be the work of Satan, for from the closest observation he could not discover Luther violating the rules of moderate diet. He also gives us a report of a fiery, serpent-like phenomenon, which he one night in June observed with Luther, at the base of the castle hill, and that on the same

night Luther was severely attacked with syncope, and was quite unwell all the next day; this was to him a confirmation of his opinion.

On June 5, Luther was deeply moved at the intelligence of the death of his aged father, who had died at Mansfeld on Sunday, May 9, after a long life of strong faith in the gospel preached by his son. Luther had always shown for him the same profound filial reverence with which he had before this dedicated to him his dissertation on monastic vows, and had invited him to his wedding, so warmly sanctioned by the father. After this event, his parents visited him at Wittenberg, thus demonstrating the kindly relations that subsisted between them. The town council of Wittenberg, in 1527, paid the expenses of the wine that was consumed in honor of Luther's father on the occasion of a visit to his distinguished son. At that time Cranach painted the portraits of Luther's parents, which are to this day preserved on the Wartburg. As early as February, 1530, Luther's brother, Jacob, had written to him that his father was dangerously sick. On the 15th of the month, Luther wrote to his brother, by his nephew Cyriak, in which he says, "It would afford me great pleasure, if it were possible, that you and all of you should come here to my house, which my wife Kate also desires, and with tears begs you to do; we would, as I hope, wait upon you in the best manner, and make your stay comfortable." In the meantime, he earnestly prayed the heavenly Father, who had given him his earthly parent, to strengthen and, by His Spirit, enlighten the latter. For he felt sure that the dear Lord and Saviour would see to it that they both would joyfully meet again, either here or there, "For," said he, "we do not doubt that we shall shortly be brought together again in Christ, since the departure from this life is, in the sight of God, a far smaller matter than whether I journey from you, from Mansfeld hither, or you from me, from Wittenberg to Mansfeld."

When he opened the letter announcing the death, he said to Dietrich, "Well, my father is dead," and immediately taking up his Psalter, he withdrew to his chamber to give free vent to his tears. He expressed his profound grief on the same day in a letter to Melancthon, and said that all that he was and all that he had, was received through his Creator from this dear father.

He kept up a constant correspondence with his wife at Witten-

berg, and with his friend, Hieronymus Weller, who had moved into his house, and now taught and aided in rearing his little son John. Weller, earlier a jurist and already thirty years of age, at that time studied theology at Wittenberg. He was inclined to melancholy, whence Luther often sent him letters of comfort and advice from Coburg. The little boy, John, must have been making encouraging progress in learning, and Weller commended him as a diligent scholar. Luther's well-known letter to him from Coburg is dated June 19. Written amid the severest studies and most trying events and reflections, it should not be omitted in any picture of Luther's life and character:

"Grace and peace in Christ, my dear little son. I hear with great pleasure that you are learning your lessons so well, and praying so diligently. Continue to do so, my son, and cease not; when I come home I will bring you a nice present from the fair. I know a beautiful garden, where there are a great many children in fine little coats, and they go under the trees and gather beautiful apples and pears, cherries and plums; they sing and run about and are as happy as they can be. Sometimes they ride on nice little ponies, with golden bridles and silver saddles. I asked the man whose garden it is: 'What little children are these?' And he told me, 'They are little children who love to pray and learn and are good.' When I said, 'My dear sir, I have a little boy at home; his name is little Hans Luther; would you let him come into the garden, too, to eat some of these nice apples and pears, and ride on these fine little ponies, and play with these children?' The man said, 'If he loves to say his prayers and learn his lessons, and is a good boy, he may come, Lippus* and Jost also, and when they are all together, they can play upon the fife and drum and lute and all kinds of instruments, and skip about and play with little cross-bows.' He then showed me a beautiful mossy place in the middle of the garden, for them to skip about in, with a great many golden fifes and drums and silver cross-bows. The children had not yet had their dinner, and I could not wait to see them play, but I said to the man: 'My dear sir, I will go away and write all about it to my little son John, and tell him to be fond of saying his prayers, and learn well and be good, so that he may come into this garden; but he has a grand-aunt named Lehne,† whom he must bring along with him.' The man said,

* Melancthon's son, Philip, and Jonas's son, Jodocus.

† Concerning this relative see Book VI.. Chap. 7.

‘Very well, go write to him.’ Now, my dear little son, love your lessons and your prayers, and tell Philip and Jodocus to do so, too, that you may all come to the garden. May God bless you. Give Aunt Lehne my love, and kiss her for me. Your dear father, Martinus Luther. In the year 1530.”

The intercourse between Coburg and Augsburg, as may be presumed, was constantly kept up by letters and messengers.

Matters were coming to a crisis as the great decision was approaching, or at least seemed to approach, and yet it was unexpectedly delayed a long time.

Whilst the Elector had arrived at Augsburg as early as May 2, the Emperor postponed his coming until June 15. He had tarried in Innspruck, where Duke George, and other princes inimical to the Reformation, hastened to meet him.

In the mean time, Melanchthon labored with great industry and painful anxiety in preparing the Defense and Confession, which was to be delivered to the Diet by Electoral Saxony. Luther admonished him from his own experience against overstrained application of his mind to this subject. He wrote to him on May 12th: “I command you and your coadjutors, under pain of the ban, that you treat your infirm body according to rule and order, so that you may not kill yourself by hard work under the vain fancy that you are doing it in obedience to God; we serve God also by keeping holiday and cessation from labor.” He had already commenced the work in Coburg, and of course with Luther's coöperation, adopted as the basis those doctrinal articles of Luther, which had been presented at Swabach the previous autumn. But his chief aim was, in accordance with his own inclination and theological standpoint, to represent the evangelical doctrine as harmonizing with the universal Christian and traditional teaching of the Church and the Reformation conducted by the Protestants only as an abolition of certain practical abuses. Never would Luther of himself have proposed a Confession to the Diet, and to the papists and the enemies of the Gospel present, which gave so little prominence to the exactness and precision of the opposite doctrine. Yet he cheerfully sanctioned the production of his friend who was selected to perform this work of conciliation, and it was sent to him by the Elector on May 11th for his judgment. His opinion was thus expressed: “It pleases me much, and I have no alterations or improvements

to propose; indeed, I do not feel competent to that, for I could not treat the matter so gently and tenderly; may Christ, our Lord, help that it may produce fruitful results, as we hope and pray." In a letter full of kind, consoling words, he exhorted the Elector himself to keep his heart in faith and patience during his compulsory residence in a dull and uninteresting place; he referred him to the gracious manifestations of God's love to him in richly bestowing upon him and his dominion the inestimable treasure of His word, and especially that the religious training of the youth in this doctrine should be regarded as equivalent to a paradise of God upon earth."

The report was now circulated that the Emperor had accused the Elector of having disregarded the edict of Worms. He forbade the clergy whom the Protestant princes had brought with them of preaching in Augsburg, and it was also Luther's opinion that the princes could do nothing but calmly submit. On the other hand, Melanchthon was now particularly annoyed by the fact that the Landgrave Philip would not consent to a rejection of the Zwinglian doctrine in the Confession, to which fact he attached the greatest importance, not only on account of the rejection in itself, but especially in the interest of a reconciliation with the Catholics. He begged Luther himself, in a letter of May 22d, to use his influence with the Landgrave, and induce him to yield his objection.

It seems that Luther felt little inclination to accede to this request. Melanchthon, expecting a compliance with it, and not receiving it, restrained his correspondence with him. At the same time, the friends in Augsburg looked forward to the arrival and first appearance of the Emperor in the Diet with painful anxiety. Three full weeks now elapsed before Luther received a letter from them, and it was just during this time that he was lamenting the recent death of his father.

Luther was much excited on account of their long silence. When he finally received a letter from Melanchthon, dated June 15th, in which he expressed his impatience at Luther not writing to the Landgrave, Luther was so much displeased that he sent the messenger back without an answer, and at first would not even read the letter. But he changed his mind, and even complied with the request. He begged the Landgrave warmly, but calmly, that he would not accept the doctrine of the opponents

on the Lord's Supper, and not allow himself to be beguiled by their "sweet soothing" words. Melanchthon was much alarmed at Luther's displeasure, and besides was much disheartened by the serious condition of things at Augsburg, the threats of embittered Catholic opponents, the anxieties arising from the approaching presentation of the Confession to the Emperor, and the apprehended results; the constantly growing nervousness occasioned by sleeplessness, the agony of suspense, and the unfavorable reports and melancholy forebodings of friends. Luther now exerted all his power in consoling and cheering his unhappy friend, and sent words of encouragement and counsel to Augsburg, which display his sublime spirit and character in a most striking manner. As from a secure, exact, and exalted position, like a prophet of old, he speaks to those who are perplexed in the whirl of earthly measures and designs. He gained this height and maintained it in the assured confidence with which he clings to the invisible God, as though he saw Him, and lifted far above the world, were holding childlike intercourse with Him.

On May 27th, in answer to one of Melanchthon's very melancholy letters, he kindly rebuked him for allowing his life to be embittered by these corroding cares, and plainly tells him that these anxieties do not arise from the magnitude of the cause which he is maintaining, but from the magnitude of his unbelief. "Let," says he, "the matter be ever so great, great also is He who controls, and has begun it, for it is not our affair. . . . He says, Cast your care upon the Lord, for He is nigh unto all who call upon him. Does He speak that to the wind, or does He cast His word before brutes? It is your human learning, and not your theology, that is the cause of your trouble. Just as if you with your needless anxieties could accomplish anything! What more can the devil do than strangle us? I adjure you, who in all other things are a master disputant, not to contend against yourself as your greatest enemy."

Two days after, he had another letter from his friend to answer. He observed in it, as he says, the labor and trouble, sufferings and tears, of his friend; at the same time, he received the finished Confession, and he was requested to express his opinion whether further concessions to the Romish opponents were possible. On this subject he thus wrote: "I am engaged day and night at this business; I study it over and over; it is the subject of my con-

stant thoughts; I am always discussing it with myself; I thoroughly search the Scriptures in reference to it, and every day the conviction of the truth of our doctrine becomes stronger, and I am more and more determined that as far as I am concerned, nothing more shall be taken from it, be the result as it may." But he did not wish that the others should be governed by his opinion or recognize his authority, and said that the affair was as much theirs as his, but that as for himself, he would defend it even if he stood alone. He then again referred the over-anxious Melanchthon to that faith, of which he could find nothing in his rhetoric and philosophy. For we must believe in the incomprehensible and the invisible, and he who aimed at making it visible and comprehensible, would receive only sorrow and tears for his reward, as was the case with Melanchthon. "The Lord has said that he would dwell in the thick darkness, and his pavilion round about Him were dark waters and thick clouds." 1 Kings viii. 12; Ps. xviii. 12. "Let him who will, make it otherwise; if Moses had first wanted to comprehend the course which Pharaoh's host was to take, Israel might have been in Egypt to this day. The Lord increase your faith and mine; if we have that, what harm can the devil and all the world do us?"

He hurried in despatching this letter, and on the next day, June 30, wrote another to Melanchthon and one to Jonas, who had reported to him Melanchthon's troubles and the burning hatred of their Catholic opponents; he also wrote to Spalatin, Agricola, and Brenz, as well as to the young Duke John Frederick. He wrote to the last with the specific end in view of tranquillizing his mind in reference to the "poisonous, wicked arts" of his nearest blood relations, particularly of Duke George. He begged those theological friends to do all they could to remove Melanchthon's overweening anxieties, and at the same time uttered the most cordial and consoling words to all.

The intelligence that "the rulers and nations were taking counsel together against the Lord and His Anointed," was to him a propitious sign, for the words immediately follow, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh." Ps. ii. 4. He could not understand how men should be apprehensive, inasmuch as God still lives. "He who has created me, will be the father of my son, the husband of my wife, disposer of all events, the preacher of the congregation, and all this, better than I am." His letter to

Melanchthon represents in a very interesting manner the contrast between his own peculiarity and that of his friend, in relation to corroding cares and temptations: "In conflicts, which concern our individual persons, I am weaker, you bolder; in those which affect the general welfare, it is just the contrary (if that may be called a personal conflict such as I have with Satan); for you regard your life as of little account, yet you tremble for the common cause, but I am cheerful and courageous on its behalf, because I certainly know that it is right and true; yea, God's cause, which must not shrink from sinful opposition and calumny, as I might if my own person were concerned; hence, I am here as an unconcerned spectator." Moreover, just at this time he felt himself exempted from those peculiar mental temptations, even if the devil did sometimes buffet his body.

Dietrich also wrote to Melanchthon, on June 30, and related the manner in which Luther spoke with God as his father and friend. He had lately heard him praying loud, when he said, "I know that thou art our Father and God; the peril is thine as well as ours; the whole transaction is thine; we began it because we were compelled, and thou must protect," etc., etc. He told Melanchthon that Luther spent at least three hours in prayer every day. He hoped that all his friends and relations would unite their prayers in behalf of this glorious cause. Thus he wrote to his wife: "Pray in hope, for it is becoming, and God will help." Two years later he thus expresses himself in a sermon on the fulfillment of prayer: "I have also tried it and many people with me, especially during that time when the devil wanted to devour us at the Diet in Augsburg, and everything looked so gloomy that everybody thought our cause was in a desperate condition, and some insolently threatened us, and had their swords already drawn and their guns loaded; but God helped us so wonderfully through our prayers, that those brawlers, with all their noise and threats, were put to shame, and He gave us peace, deliverance, and a happy issue out of all our troubles."

It so happened, that just at this time, as Jonas reported to Luther, John Frederick had ordered the arms of the Reformer to be cut in stone as a signet ring, and Luther, through his friend, Spangler, in Nürnberg, was prompted to explain the meaning of it. It was particularly important in relation to the events and deliberations of those days. We know that Luther, as early as

1517, instead of his father's arms, which consisted of a cross bow with two roses, selected one rose for his own, in the centre of which there was a heart with a cross. He thus explained it: There should be a black cross in a naturally red heart; for from the heart we must believe in the Crucified One in order to be saved; the cross indeed causes pain and mortification, yet it does not kill, but rather promotes the vital energy of the heart. Such a heart should stand on a white rose, to show that faith imparts joy, comfort, and peace, and it should be white, because that is the color of spirits and of angels, and the joy is not that of the world. The rose, finally, should be placed in a sky-blue field, as this joy is already the beginning of the heavenly, and is comprehended in the hope of heaven, and that field should be encircled by a golden ring, because heavenly salvation endures forever, and is valuable above all other possessions.

Shortly after, Luther received the happy information that the Confession of the Protestants, our Augsburg Confession, had been read before the Emperor and the imperial States, on June 25, in the German language. The day before the Emperor attempted to prevent the reading of it, and desired to receive it only in manuscript. The evangelical faith was there publicly proclaimed in loud and solemn tones—that same faith which nine years before, in Worms, Luther was ordered to recant. He was overjoyed. He saw the fulfillment of the Psalmist's words, "I will also speak of thy testimonies before kings," and he was sure that the remaining part would be fulfilled, "and I will not be ashamed." Ps. cxix. 46. He wrote to his Elector: "That was a fine stroke of wisdom on the part of our adversaries, to forbid the clergy of the princes to preach in Augsburg; in compensation of that, now the Elector and other lords have preached under the very noses of his imperial majesty and the whole empire, so that they were compelled to hear and cannot gainsay it." How sad it was to him that he was not permitted to be there himself!—but he rejoiced in living in a period when such confessors in such an assembly so gloriously testified of Christ.

Very pleasing information was received by him of a certain clemency and magnanimity which the Emperor displayed, and of the pacific dispositions of individual princes, such as Duke Henry of Brunswick, who invited Melancthon to his table, and particularly of Cardinal Albert, the archbishop and electoral prince of

Mainz. Luther, contrary to the opinion of Melanchthon, was fully convinced that a union with the opponents, on questions of faith and of religion in general, was entirely beyond hope. But he now, with positiveness, expressed the idea that there might probably be "a political union or agreement," notwithstanding the opposing systems of faith; and by this he meant a pacific tolerance and harmonious existence of both confessions and churches within the German empire: he wished that this condition of things should prevail, and cherished a feeble hope of seeing it consummated. In his confiding German mind, the Emperor Charles was still a man of pious heart and noble spirit, and worthy of all honor and reverence; he could not hope that the Emperor, surrounded as he was by bad men, would favor the evangelical cause, but he still believed that he was endowed with a gentle, amiable disposition. Influenced by this sentiment, Luther again ventured to write to the archbishop, and said that as there was now no hope of an agreement in the faith, he besought him to use his influence at least in securing liberty or toleration to the Protestants, for no one should or could be compelled to adopt any system of doctrine, and that the new doctrine did no harm, but, on the contrary, taught and maintained peace and good will. In this letter he appealed to the native German consciousness of the archbishop: "We Germans do not cease to believe in the pope and his Italians, until they bring us not into a sweat-bath, but into a blood-bath; when German princes fall foul of each other, it rejoices the pope, and makes him laugh and exclaim: 'There, you German beasts, you did not want me to be pope, take that!' . . . I cannot cease feeling the utmost solicitude for this poor, wretched, forsaken, despised, betrayed, bartered Germany, to whose welfare I will devote all my energies; for this I owe to my dear native land."

Thus, he would not only hear of no concessions, but regarded all further negotiations about matters of the faith as useless. He could not understand why his friends should still tarry in Augsburg, where they were constantly exposed to the threats and boasts of their adversaries. On July 15, he wrote to them: "You have given to the emperor what is the emperor's, and to God what is God's. . . . Christ will confess us as we have confessed him, . . . hence, in the name of the Lord, I absolve you from any longer attendance at Augsburg. Go home, go home!"

Those men, however, were compelled to wait for a Refutation, which the Emperor had ordered to be prepared by certain rigid Catholic theologians. The principal was Eck, the old, equally violent and tranquil enemy of Luther; and the other was John Cochläus, who in the beginning belonged to the representatives of Humanistic Science, but who, since the beginning of the great ecclesiastical conflict, attacked Luther in small, bitter, polemical writings, and who now stood by the side of Duke George, in place of the deceased Emser.

Meanwhile, both from ecclesiastical and secular quarters, a gloomy prospect was opened up for the Protestants. And it was now that Melanchthon experienced his worst and weakest hours. He even sought to pacify the papal legates by representations to the effect that they would not allow themselves any real departure from the doctrines of the Romish church. Real concessions in relation to ecclesiastical ordinances and mode of worship, to a very great extent, seemed possible to him; for these are merely external matters, and the bishops also constitute a part of the human government which God has ordained for the welfare of men.

So Luther also had to exercise patience. He continued to write encouraging letters. The threats did not disturb him. He remembered that a blade quite too sharp will soon be notched, and that, as he had heard his Staupitz say, God first shuts the eyes of those he means to chastise.

To begin a war now would be equally dangerous to the opponents—in the beginning there would be no progress, and in the end there would be no victory. Toward Melanchthon he uses a coarse German proverb, applied to one who is said "to die of being threatened." The most vigorous and copious words he derives all along from that source the most precious to him, the Scriptures. In his own peculiar style, he wrote to the Electoral Chancellor Brück, who rendered important services to the cause of the Reformation, and who was chief counsellor in secular affairs to his prince in Augsburg, and informed him that he had lately witnessed two miracles, as he was looking out of the window: the first was, the beautiful vault of heaven, with the stars, supported by no pillars, and yet standing; the other was thick, dark clouds floating along without basis to rest upon or any vessel in which they were contained, and then after, with solemn visage, they had saluted the heavens and fled away, burst out the

brilliant rainbow, which sustained the heavy mass of water upon its weak, transparent roof." He applied this aerial vision to those who, amid the troubles and sorrows of life, are not contented with the sufficiency of faith, but seek for pillars to support the heavens in fear of their falling, and tremble because they cannot see any. In this letter he also remarked, that he would be perfectly satisfied even if the emperor refused to grant the desired political peace; for God's thoughts are far above men's, and God, and not the Emperor, must have the glory. To Melancthon, he also sent a very pacific and clear explanation of the manner in which a discrimination must be made between the bishops as secular princes or dignitaries and as spiritual shepherds, and that the right to burden the church with arbitrary laws concerning worship, must never be conceded to them.

On his part, he now issued a consecutive series of small publications, in which, with incisive directness, he again maintained the gospel standpoint against Romish errors; thus, *Upon the Church and Church Authority*; *Against Purgatory*; *Upon the Keys*; *How Christ really dispenses Forgiveness in His Church*; *Against the Invocation of the Saints*; *Upon the Proper Celebration of the Lord's Supper*, etc., etc. Without any regard to the prevailing controverted points, he again took up the subject of the necessity of good schools, and wrote a tract on "Children should be sent to School." A practical exposition of Ps. cxviii., and one on Ps. cxvii. followed. He continued diligently to work on the translation of the prophets. Thus he persevered in his labor, whilst his head all the time was suffering from severe pains. At the end of his sojourn at Coburg, he said to a friend that although he lived very moderately, yet that during the whole summer he could not work more than half the time, "on account of the buzzing and humming in his head."

On August 3, the Catholic Refutation was produced at the Diet. The emperor in his announcement of the Diet had declared that the opinions of both parties should be fairly heard and compared; but he now seemed to have changed his mind, and demanded that the Protestants should consider themselves refuted by this paper, and immediately submit. To this, the Landgrave Philip replied, that on the 6th of the month he had left Augsburg without the permission, and even against the prohibition of the Emperor, and hurried home, openly resolved, in case of necessity,

to oppose force by force. But the Emperor, however strongly advised from Rome to employ measures of force, was not yet ready to apply such rash measures, as Luther himself presumed. But agreeably to the wish of the more reconcilable and mediating party, he allowed further attempts to compose the differences through the agency of a larger committee, then by a new, smaller one, of which Melanchthon was the only Protestant theological member.

Thus the Protestants were first led distinctly to consider the question as to the possibility of yielding, which he had already been anxiously debating in his own mind. It corresponded to the conception that Luther had of the entire attitude of the Romish church: that its representatives laid less stress upon the deeper differences in doctrine concerning the personal appropriation of salvation, and that the dispute concerning the restoration of the right of the bishops, and of public worship, particularly the Mass and the Sacrament of the Supper in both kinds, constituted the chief difficulty in the negotiations.

On the other hand, no one more clearly taught than Luther, that Christians had perfect liberty in external forms of organization and of worship, by virtue of which they could make concessions and mutually serve each other. But, of course, he did not the less utter warnings against concessions to ecclesiastical tyrants, who might employ them in enslaving and deceiving souls. In this respect Melanchthon now showed himself resolutely determined; he was not only inclined to favor a restoration of the Catholic episcopacy for the Evangelicals for the sake of peace, but he earnestly desired it for its own sake, because he thought there was no hope of maintaining the proper observance of the ordinances of religion over against arbitrary princes and lawless populations. In fact, the Protestants proposed to yield lawful obedience to the bishops, if they were left free to enjoy their worship and doctrine until the calling of a free Council. In regard to the service of the Mass, the question was, whether the Protestants would not and should not adopt it in all its sacrificial character, if only an explanation of the difference between this sacrifice and the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross were appended. On the other hand, other Protestants, particularly the representatives of Nürnberg, were distrustful of all such accommodations, and were specially displeased with all the proceedings of Melanchthon in

this affair. Spengler, in Nürnberg, wrote to Luther upon the subject. The state of things was the more perilous, as the transactions in relation to it were, agreeably to the will of the Emperor, to be carried on without interruption, and Luther's opinion from Coburg could not be received in time.

Luther, to whom the Elector sent the articles of agreement, replied with calmness, distinctness, and penetration. He took a simple and practical view of the subject, but at the same time supported himself on the profoundest principles. Thus, in reference to the Mass: "The Catholic Liturgy holds out the inadmissible idea, that God must be implored to accept the body of his Son as a sacrifice to Himself; now, if this were to be glossed over, then either the language of the Litany would be nullified by the gloss, or it by the language; that we dare not expose ourselves to danger by the use of such offensive language without necessity. He particularly cautioned Melanchthon about the power of the bishops; he knew well enough, that by obedience to them the liberty of the gospel may still be maintained, but they will not consider themselves so bound, and will declare it a breach of faith if they are not simply followed and obeyed in all things. He then also calmly expressed his conviction, that the whole effort of mediation was idle; the design is to harmonize the pope and Luther, but the pope will not consent, and Luther begs to be excused." He was finally firm and tranquil in maintaining his self-consciousness and the soundness of his views in all cases, and thus writes to Spengler: "I have commended the affair to God, and take notice I have kept it so firmly in my hand that no man shall deprive me of it as long as Christ and I are of one mind;" and to Spalatin, "Luther is free, and so is the Macedonian (Philip of Hesse). . . . Only be strong and quit you like men."

These observations are extracted from various letters which he wrote on August 26th to the Elector John, Melanchthon, Spalatin, Jonas, and Spengler. On the same day he also wrote a preface for Brenz to his exposition of the prophet Amos. It shows us his judgment upon his own writings, which at that period were numerous. His own writings, he says, are like a wild forest compared with the gentle, limpid fluency of Brenz's language; he thought that if small things dare be compared with great, his words were like the spirit of Elijah—a great and strong wind,

rending the mountains and breaking in pieces the rocks, and that of Brenz was the still small voice; but yet that God also used coarse wedges for splitting coarse blocks, and besides the fructifying rain, he also employed the rending thunder and lightning to purify the atmosphere.

If, however, at that time, Protestantism was exposed to some peril on account of injudicious compliance, yet at the same time it was obviated by the unscrupulous demands of the opponents, which were even more than Melanchthon could bear. The transactions of the smaller committee mentioned above were also closed without any results. On September 8th, Luther expressed a hope to his wife that he would probably leave Coburg for home. He also cheered the boyish heart of his little son, John, by promising him a very handsome present. On the 14th he was visited by Duke John Frederick and Count Alfred, of Mansfeld, on their journey homewards from the Diet. The former brought him the signet ring, which was, however, too large for his finger; and he remarked, that gold was not suited to him, but it should be lead. He expressed the wish of soon seeing the other friends, who would soon escape from Augsburg, and although the Duke offered to take him home with him, yet he preferred remaining some time longer, for the purpose, as he wrote to Melanchthon, of receiving them there, and wiping off the sweat after their hot bath.

In Augsburg, negotiations were then, it is true, again resumed with Melanchthon and Brück; indeed, the Nürnberg commissioner believed it necessary to complain most bitterly in regard to "a secret, unchristian plotting," against which Melanchthon would not any longer allow any protests to be made, and Luther, whose attention was called to them by Spengler and Link, expressed his confidence in his Saxon theologians, and did not wish to hurt Melanchthon's feelings; but with all this, most earnestly, asked from him and Jonas, on May 20th, further information, and warned them against the cunning devices of the enemy and final abandonment of all compromises. These letters were sent by the hands of Spengler, but in the mean time it became known that the new attack—especially on the firmness of Jonas and Spalatin—had failed, and Spengler did not deliver them. The Evangelical States continued firm in their adhesion to their protest of 1529, and the resolutions of the Empire of 1526.

The Emperor Charles openly showed his displeasure, but at the same time he did not find those princes who opposed the innovations sufficiently zealous to rush into an internal war for the eradication of the heresy, and the exaltation of the imperial authority and power, and hence he wisely concluded to postpone the decision. On the 22d he announced the decree of the Diet; to the Protestants, whose confession had been refuted, he extended the privilege of returning to the church, the pope and the empire, after nearly a whole year's reflection, until April 15 of the following year, whilst he, within a year, would convoke a council for the improvement of existing church affairs. Further measures in relation to these questions, he would hold under advisement until that period. The Protestants on the other hand remonstrated, and maintained that their confession had not been refuted, and gave into his hands an apology or defense of it, prepared by Melancthon. They accepted the respite offered by the Emperor. Until that time, then, the political peace, which Luther wished and hoped for, was secured. In relation to other imminent dangers and threats, he said to Spengler: "We are without blame, and have done enough; let the blood be upon other heads," meaning, if it comes to the worst we are not responsible.

From quite a different direction there now came pacific propositions to Luther at Coburg. Strasburg and three other upper German cities, Constanx, Memmingen and Lindau, had presented at the Diet a special confession, because they had been separated from the Lutherans by the sacramental controversy. They would not admit an oral and corporeal participation of the body of Christ by communicants; but, contrary to Zwingli, they still held the sacrament to be a real divine gift, and a spiritual enjoyment of the "real body" of Christ. Bucer, the theological representative of Strasburg, now attempted a nearer approximation to the Wittenbergers. He was not deterred, although Melancthon suspiciously resisted him, and Luther left a letter from him unanswered. He now appeared in person at the castle of Coburg, and on September 25th he had a confidential and friendly interview with Luther. The latter would in no wise yield to the opinion of a mere "spiritual participation," and, as above all things, he demanded candor and open expression of ideas; he did not conceal a constant suspicion. He, however, began to hope for happy results, and declared that he would willingly sacrifice his life three

times over, if thereby these dissensions might be healed. For Bucer this was a happy beginning for pursuing further measures, which he thereafter diligently carried out in private.

On the day after the adjournment, the electoral prince, John, could also leave Augsburg on his journey home. The Emperor bade him farewell with the words: "Cousin! cousin! this is what I did not expect from your Grace." The Elector left him without reply and in tears. After he had tarried a short time in Nürnberg, he, accompanied by his theologians, met Luther at Coburg. October 5th, they all together left that place, and proceeded by way of Altenburg, where Luther preached on Sunday, the 9th, to the residence of the prince at Torgau.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DIET OF AUGSBURG TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF NÜRNBERG, 1532; DEATH OF THE ELECTOR JOHN.

As soon as Luther reëntered upon his official duties at Wittenberg, he here again assumed extraordinary labors. During this month of October, Bugenhagen left for Lübeck, as he had done before for Brunswick and Hamburg. The most important advances which the Reformation made in those years, in which at the Diets it was compelled to contend manfully for its rights and claims, were those in the north German cities. Soon after his arrival at Coburg, Luther had received the information that Lübeck and Lüneburg had embraced it. The citizens of Lübeck would not endure any other than Protestant preachers, and abolished the unevangelical church abuses, although an opposing party appealed to the Emperor, and succeeded in procuring a mandate forbidding the innovation. To carry through these new regulations, the Lübeckers would greatly have preferred Luther. Messengers from them earnestly petitioned the Elector John, in Augsburg at least, to allow Bugenhagen to come. Under these circumstances Luther was also of opinion that their petition should be granted, although the church at Wittenberg and the University could hardly dispense with his services. He thought that Bugenhagen was the more needed there, as he himself could no longer perform his duties as formerly, for he was growing old; his health was failing, and above all he was so weary of life that this corrupt world would not see him nor endure him much longer.

But he immediately, as far as his health would permit, assumed the duties of the city pastor (Bugenhagen,) whose labors at Lübeck kept him away from Wittenberg a year and a half, so that not only the week-day sermons on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but also the pastoral services and the administration of church business, all fell upon him. He reproached himself that during his temporary pastorship, the church treasury was neglected, and that in general he was overworked and became sluggish.

He was severely troubled with heart affection and vertigo, and these affections violently increased during the following year.

At the same time, with persevering energy, he continued his translation of the prophets to the end; in the autumn of 1531, he informed Spalatin that he daily spent two hours in the correction of them. He published a new edition of the Psalms, greatly improved, and also issued several Psalms with a practical exposition.

Besides these labors, in which he engaged with untiring diligence, there were others of unspeakable magnitude which claimed his attention. Important church and political questions, measures and perils arising out of the transactions of the Diet, the doubtful prospects of the cause in some directions, and the opposition to it in others, consultations with his coadjutors, advice to his prince, and the general interests of the whole Protestant cause, imposed upon him heavy responsibilities and demanded constant vigilant activity.

On November 19, the final decree of the Diet was announced, in face of the opposition of the Protestants in Augsburg; they accepted the time allowed them for reflection until April 15; but the Emperor and the empire adhered firmly to the ancient church ordinances, and they already began to demand from the Protestants a surrender of the church and monastic property. It was also remarked by them, that not a single expression of a peaceful or conciliatory character was uttered in the final decree, but only that the States were ordered to maintain peace and be quiet. The fact is that the Emperor had already promised the pope, on October 4, to employ all his power in the suppression of Protestantism. He immediately ordered the Superior Court of the empire, the so-called Court of Chambers, rigidly to execute the provisions of the decree in ecclesiastical and religious cases. This action would affect the decision of trials which might be brought against the Protestants on account of church property. Further, in order to secure his authority and the conduct of the government in accordance with his views, during his absence he had his brother Ferdinand elected king of the Romans. John of Saxony, the only Protestant among the Electors, opposed the election; he supported himself upon the ground, that in the call for this election a provision of the law of the empire, the golden bull, was violated, according to which the intention of such an election during the life time of an emperor must be previously

determined by the unanimous voice of the electors. In opposition to this, the Emperor had in his hands a papal brief, by which he could exclude John from the election as a heretic, but he did not see proper to make use of it. The election took place January 5, 1531.

The Protestants now adopted measures towards protecting themselves by a firm, well-organized union. For this purpose they assembled in Schmalkald, at Christmas, 1530.

But the more pressing the dangers were which beset them, the more momentous became the decision of the question whether they should offer any resistance to the Emperor. The jurists, who expressed their minds on the subject, said many things, without, however, bringing to light clear, thorough or correct views or principles. They argued the question on grounds of private rights, and after a display of legal acumen and the discussion of the mutual rights of the Emperor, the States, the people and the courts, these still lacked clearness and certainty. On this subject, Luther and other Wittenberg theologians were also called to give their judgment. The jurists, particularly Chancellor Brück, were also consulted.

In the question of the elevation of Ferdinand to the royal dignity, Luther warmly advised his elector, before the election, to submission. He thought that the danger that threatened him and all Germany was much too great; that they would seek occasion to dispossess him of his electoral office, and perhaps, bestow it upon Duke George; Germany would be torn by factions and plunged into war and misery. This was Luther's advice, although "in his humble position before the world, he did not understand the art of giving counsel in such high affairs of State," yea, "that in regard to secular business he was too much of a child."

In his reflections upon the right of resistance, his mind now inclined in a specific direction. He came to a conclusion somewhat different from that previously reached. He taught that governments and state ordinances were, in general, of divine origin, and by that he meant, agreeably to apostolic teaching, the different official regulations of different states, as far as they had anywhere secured permanent stability. In reference to Germany, as we have seen, he was too sound a monarchist to admit the expediency of deposing an unworthy Emperor by the body of the electors.

The decisive question for him now was, what does the constitution of the German empire, or the law of the Emperor himself, determine upon the resistance of individual states of the empire, which feel themselves and their subjects wronged in their rights and in the fulfillment of their duties. The answer to this question was, in his opinion, no longer an affair of the theologians, but of statesmen. It was, however, plain to him, that whilst the Christian, as merely Christian, should cheerfully suffer injustice, yet that the secular government, and also every German prince, should maintain his position as an office of divine appointment, and protect his subjects against injury. It was the business of jurists to determine what were the constitutional laws and rights of each country, and of the princes to seek the counsel of the jurists. Agreeably to these views, the Wittenberg theologians now declared this opinion: "If the administrators of justice lay it down as a principle that in certain cases, according to the law of the land, the highest government may be resisted, and if such cases or occasions now exist, then they, as theologians, can offer no scriptural opposition to the position assumed; formerly they were of a different opinion, but they were not then aware that the government itself guaranteed such rights." The result was, that the allies really considered themselves authorized to resist the Emperor, and began to make preparations. In Luther's opinion, the responsibility of this movement must forever rest upon the princes and jurists, as far as it was their business to determine whether the right of resistance was lawful. "We," says he, "do not maintain that, and do not know it; I leave them to settle it."

In the beginning of the year 1531, Luther expressed his sore displeasure on the final decree of the Diet, and the violent measures of the opponents, in two publications, one entitled, "Notes on the Presumptuous Imperial Edict," and "An Admonition to his Dear Germans." In the first, he discussed the character of the edict, and the calumnies against the gospel doctrine in which it indulges; he says that he is not opposing the imperial majesty, but the traitors and reprobates, be they princes or bishops, who aim at executing their infamous design, and especially that knave, the so-called vice-gerent of God, and his legate. The other publication treats "The greatest threatened danger of all"—a war occasioned by the oppressions of the Emperor and the resistance of the Protestants. And in this affair, as a preacher of righteous-

ness, he would not advise war, but peace, which he has always done, as everybody must testify. But he also openly declares, if it should come to war, which God forbid, he would not consent that those should be regarded as rebels, who by arms oppose the bloodthirsty papists, but that it is an act of self-defence, justified by the law and the opinion of the jurists.

There arose out of these writings a new complication with Duke George, who brought an accusation against Luther before the Elector on their account, and of some letters falsely attributed to him. The Duke even published a reply to the first-named writing, under an assumed name. Luther responded to this "weak production" in a fugitive piece, entitled "Against the Assassin at Dresden," not as though, as many understood it, he intended to charge the Duke with murderous designs, but that his book, containing so many outrageous calumnies, deserved the opprobrious epithet. The tone in which Luther indulged in this response, reminds us of his words, that a coarse wedge must be used for splitting a coarse block. But it brought out an admonition from his Elector, and all the apology he made was, that he hoped Duke George would also hereafter leave him in peace.

The pressure of the common peril now favored the desire of the Upper Germans for a union with the German Protestants, and the efforts of Bucer in that direction. Luther himself, in a letter to Bucer, acknowledged the great necessity of such an alliance. He deplored the injury done to the cause of the gospel by the disharmony existing, and said that if they had been united, popery, the Turks, the whole world, and the gates of hell, could not have done as much harm. Notwithstanding this, he was not willing to entirely overlook the doctrinal differences for conscience sake, and could not understand why the former opponents, if they now acknowledged the true presence of the body in the Sacrament, could not at the same time admit the oral and bodily participation of it by all communicants. He was satisfied that for the present all controversy on this subject should cease, and that they should wait "until God, during this cessation of strife, would impart further grace." The Schmalkald allies were so well satisfied with these new views and expressions of sentiment, that they abandoned their opposition to the reception of the Upper Germans into the Alliance.

Thus, at the end of March, 1531, a mutual armed resistance

for six years was declared by the Schmalkald Alliance. The Protestant parties were the Elector John, the Landgrave Philip, the three Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, Counts Alfred and Gebhard of Mansfeld, the Lower German cities of Magdeburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, and the Upper German Strasburg, Constance, Meiningen, Lindau, besides Ulm, Reutlingen, Bibrach, Ispy. Luther also made no further opposition.

In this alliance, the Protestants, as members of the German empire, stood firm and strong. The opponents were not so united in their interests. For example, there existed between the Dukes of Bavaria and the Emperor and Ferdinand, a political jealousy to such an extent, that the former even took sides with the heretics against the newly elected king. Outside of Germany, Denmark extended her hand to the Schmalkald league; for King Christian II., who was banished from that country, who had before sought the protection of the Saxon Electors, and had friendly relations with Luther, now, after he had again become a submissive servant of the Christian church, tried, with the help of his brother-in-law, the Emperor, to regain possession of his throne. The King of France was also ready to combine with the German princes against the growing power of the Emperor.

Meanwhile, we nowhere find in Luther any knowledge of, or participation in, the plans and transactions connected with this affair. At this time, there was a threatened rupture between Henry VIII. of England and the Emperor, and the former was meditating an apostasy from the Church of Rome. Henry wished to be divorced from Catharine, an aunt of the Emperor, pleading that she had formerly been the wife of his deceased brother, and hence his marriage with her was inadmissible; and as the pope, after a long negotiation, would not, out of regard to the Emperor, grant him the divorce, he appealed to a number of European universities and learned men for their opinions on the lawfulness and validity of the marriage; the result really was that the judgment of the majority was against it. A secret agent of the former "Defender of the Faith," now turned to the Wittenbergers, and to that same Luther so infamously calumniated by the King. But, on September 5, 1531, he gave his decided judgment against the divorce, for marriage with a brother's wife is not forbidden by the divine law of the Scriptures, but only by the human law of the

state. The political aspect of the case he did not take into consideration.

In the question of war or peace, the threatening aspect of Turkey must have had much weight in the minds of the Emperor and Ferdinand; it, indeed, turned the scale. Luther's attention was also constantly directed to it; immediately after the publication of the final decree, he menaced the wrath of God upon the fanatics, who were ready to plunge into war, while the Turks were upon their heels and in sight. Ferdinand in vain tried to enter into a treaty of peace with the Sultan, who demanded from him the entire possession of Hungary, and anticipated further conquest. This compelled Ferdinand, in March, 1531, to beg even of his brother a peaceful reconciliation with the Protestants, so that in the event of a war with Turkey, their military aid might be secured. This led to attempts at a settlement of the momentous affair through the agency of the Electors of Palatine and of Mainz. The term of April 15th passed by silently. The Emperor also suppressed the trials provided for by the decree.

The summer passed without stirring activity or the occurrence of anything remarkable. The combined judgment of Luther, Melancthon and Bugenhagen, which was asked on the restoration of episcopal authority, was not decidedly against it; only that the demand must be insisted on, that the bishops should allow the churches and ministers to have the pure preaching of the gospel, which of course they would not grant.

About this time he was deeply saddened by the death of his mother. She died June 30th, after he had sent her a consoling letter in her last sickness. We have spoken above of the state of his own health in this month. He thus wrote to Link, on the 26th: "The devil was buffeting him painfully (2 Cor. xii. 7), so that he could seldom write or do anything else; be not surprised if he should kill me altogether; but let not my will be done, but the will of Him who has already overthrown the devil and all his kingdom."

The disposition of the opponents to employ forceful measures was again aroused by the defeat which the reformed places of Switzerland suffered from the small Catholic cantons, although these circumstances were more favorable for the evangelical party than in Germany. The conflict which Luther was so assiduously engaged in preventing in Germany, was in Switzerland brought

to a bloody outbreak through the agency of Zwingli. He himself fell, October 11th, in the battle at Koppel, a sacrifice to his patriotic plans, by which he secured for his country a great political, ecclesiastical and moral reform. King Ferdinand triumphed over this first great event favorable to the Catholic Church. He was now prepared to renounce Hungary, that by negotiating peace with the Sultan he and his brother might have free play in Germany. Luther saw in the fall of Zwingli a new judgment of God on the Münzer spirit, and during the whole course of that war, a pressing warning for the Schmaldkald League, not to boast of any human alliance, but to do everything possible for the preservation of peace.

But the proceedings of the Swiss afforded no support to those who had no communion with the Zwinglians, nor were they themselves thereby weakened in their power and organization. And the Upper Germans were now compelled to hold on more firmly to their union with the Lutheran princes and cities; the Zwinglian party soon after suffered a severe loss in the death of Œcolampadius, on December 1. The Sultan was not appeased by the repeated offers of Ferdinand, but prepared a new and powerful campaign for the Spring of 1532, against Austria; towards the end of April all was ready.

This checked the zeal for war of Germans against Germans, and brought to practical results the measures of reconciliation which were agitated in the beginning of the year 1532 in Schweinfurth, and subsequently in Nürnberg. They led to a determination to postpone an agreement on religious and political controverted questions, and as it long had been Luther's opinion, to a political peace, with which both parties, in their present condition, were satisfied. There was still one question particularly discussed, and that was, how far should this peace be extended—whether only to the Schmaldkald allies, with whom the negotiation was carried on, or also to such imperial States who in future might embrace the new doctrine and abandon the old church, which, as a whole, still continued to be the church of the Emperor and the empire. In this connection, the validity of the election of Ferdinand as king of Rome, still came up. Luther was again and again asked for his opinion upon this subject.

Luther's health at this time was in such a precarious condition, that he was constantly thinking of his approaching end. In

addition to this, he was now very solicitous about the life of his highly honored Elector. He, himself, was again attacked, as Dietrich tells us, early in the morning of January 22, with severe pain in the head and heart. The friends who visited him, spoke of the effect his death would have upon the papists, upon which he said: "But I will not die now; I am certain of it; for God will not strengthen the papal abomination by my death after Zwingli and Œcolampadius have died: Satan wishes it, for he is following me all the time; but what he wants will not happen, but that which God wills." The physicians feared apoplexy, from which he would not recover. The severe attack soon passed away, but his head still suffered. A few weeks after, towards the end of February, he visited the Elector in Torgau, who was lying there in great agony, and had to submit to the amputation of the great toe of his left foot. From that place he wrote to Dietrich and informed him that he was meditating upon his preface to the translation of the Prophets, but that he suffered so severely from vertigo and the vexations of Satan, that he almost doubted whether he would live long enough to return to Wittenberg. "My head," says he, "can no longer do it: hence if I die, you must think of employing your art and eloquence in the preface." For a month, as he remarked at the beginning of April, he was prevented from reading, writing, and teaching. In a letter to Spalatin on May 20, he also said, that now according to God's will he must keep holiday, whilst Bugenhagen wrote the letter for him; and on June 13, he reported to Amsdorf, that through the intercession of friends his head gradually grew better, but that his natural strength was diminishing.

In this mental and bodily condition, Luther continued to write earnest, calm and encouraging letters to the Elector John, and his son, John Frederick, in relation to these affairs.

On the subject of Ferdinand's election, he differed from them both, and on February 12, and also subsequently, he said, "that a possible treaty of peace must not be exposed to the risk of failure on that account. Even if an unimportant article of the Golden Bull had been violated by it, yet it was not the sin against the Holy Ghost, and that God could easily find beams in the eyes of the Protestants over against this mote in the eyes of the others. It could not be otherwise than an intolerable burden on the conscience of the Elector if war would ensue on this account; it

might even result in a dismemberment of the empire, the complete victory of the Turks, and the total destruction of the Gospel and everything precious."

On May 16th, he also advised compliance on the question of extending the limits of the peace, if the success of the measure depended upon it. For if the Emperor would guarantee security to the present Protestant States, it would be an act of grace on his part, and a personal privilege for them. They could not force him to show the same favor to others. Others would have to run the risk, and to hope to secure the same security from the grace of God. Every man is bound to accept the gospel at his own peril.

At that time already Luther heard the reproach, that his opinion amounted to a denial of fraternal love, for Christians should cherish and promote the salvation and welfare of each other. Others accused him of denying Protestant religious liberty and equal confessional authority. Those will judge differently of what was to be gained in the way of peace and positive right, who properly understand and appreciate the relations of Germany at that time, and the ecclesiastico-political views common to Protestants and Catholics. It was contrary to general principles that Catholic rulers should assure toleration to Protestant worship in their respective countries, contrary to the course pursued by Protestant rulers towards their Catholic subjects. According to this, there was nothing to be done by those subjects who opposed the mode of worship established by the authorities, but freely to retire. Luther very properly said: "What you do not want to be done to yourself, you should not do to others." If any merit whatever is associated with the fact, that at that time Germany was saved from a bloody war and peace secured for a series of years, this merit is due above all others to our Reformer. In this momentous business he performed the service of a true child of his country, as well as of a Christian leader and conscientious counsellor.

One of the questions most warmly discussed, was that in relation to the council, until which there was mutual toleration. The Protestants insisted upon an amendment to the terms, and that was, that the decisions of this "free Christian council" should be based "upon the pure word of God." Luther would not engage in further controversy upon this subject, for he observed very

properly: "The amendment will practically be of no use; our opponents will, under all circumstances, claim the credit of having decided the questions in accordance with the pure word of God."

In June unfavorable reports came from Nürnberg, that the papists had frustrated the design. Luther again exclaimed, as he did after the Augsburg Diet: "Their blood will come upon their own heads; we have done enough."

Towards the end of the month, the Elector requested him to issue another declaration upon these questions; and, in compliance, he repeated more urgently his admonition to those among the Protestants themselves: "Who were over-wise and cautious, and, as their language expresses it, wanted a peace without conditions." He implored the Elector most humbly "to write to our people a good, earnest, telling letter," so that they might see how graciously the Emperor is disposed to yield some things which may be accepted with good conscience, and not to reject a peace on account of a few hair-splitting, unimportant differences; God would certainly make provision for such small deficiencies, and heal all minor disagreements.

On July 23d, the peace was really concluded in Nürnberg, and, on August 2d, it was confirmed by the Emperor. Both parties were to practice Christian toleration towards each other until the meeting of the council; one of the parties designated was the existing Schmalkaldic League. The displeasure which the papal legates openly showed at the concessions of the Emperor, was not a favorable indication for the prosperity of Protestantism in the German empire.

The Elector John lived to see this peace, for which he had particularly exerted his influence among the princes. Shortly after, on August 15th, he was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, while on a hunt, and died the next day. Luther and Melancthon, who were hastily summoned to Schweinitz, found him in a state of unconsciousness. Luther preached at his burial in Wittenberg, as he had done seven years before at the funeral of his brother; and according to a report of Spalatin, he wept like a child.

During his whole reign until its close, John was conscientiously engaged in furthering the cause of the gospel as it was expounded by Luther, and mournfully and faithfully meeting the

dangers incident to the stand he had assumed. On this account, and justly, the surname of *The Constant* was given him. Luther highly lauded his firmness and unflinching courage, especially at the Diet of Augsburg; he there often said to his counsellors: "Tell my theologians to do what is right to the honor and glory of God, and to have no regard to me, my country, or my people." Luther prominently held forth piety and benignity as his characteristic principles, as in the Elector Frederick, wisdom and strong common sense were the predominant qualities: "If," said he, "the two princes had been one person, it would have been an exhibition of a wonderful miracle of God."

BOOK VI.

FROM THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF NÜRNBERG
TO LUTHER'S DEATH.

CHAPTER I.

LUTHER UNDER JOHN FREDERICK. 1532-1534.

LUTHER, in the troublous times of the Augsburg Diet, had still hoped to secure political peace for his people and his church. Such a peace had now been obtained in consequence of political circumstances and developments in which he had been actively engaged only in so far as he had, through his advice, admonished the Protestant States to all possible moderation. Hence, he recognized in this result a higher Providence, for which it would be impossible ever sufficiently to thank God. It was allotted him to enjoy this peace for the rest of his life, and, as much as lay in his power, to aid in maintaining it. While enjoying it, he continued to build on the foundation laid by him under the protection of Frederick the Wise, on which also, under the Elector John, the first reorganization in church matters had been effected.

He was able to devote a longer time to this work than he had himself anticipated. We have already had frequent occasions to speak not only of his reflection upon his approaching end, but also of severe attacks of sickness that really threatened to terminate fatally. Although these indeed did not recur in the following years to the same dangerous extent, yet the sensation of physical weakness, of the rapid approach of old age, of exhaustion by toil and struggles, that no longer permitted him to accomplish as much as he desired, did not leave him. In reference to bodily sufferings, we continually hear him complain mainly of a faintness of his head and dizziness, which rendered him incapable of work, especially in the morning. To his friends he would exclaim: "I live such a useless life that I have conceived a strange hatred toward myself; I do not know how time passes so quickly, and I accomplish so little; I am become aged not in years but in vigor." For the request he makes of a distant friend to visit him again, he assigns as a reason that in his present physical condition he could not refrain from thinking that it unexpectedly might be the last visit. It is not astonishing then that his natural excitability would frequently rise to a morbid degree. Yet he

looked forward to his departure from this "wicked world" with joy, and as long as he was to labor in it, he strained all his powers to the utmost, both for his immediate calling as well as for the affairs of the church in general, which now almost exclusively demanded his attention.

The happy harmony which had existed between the Reformer and his sovereign, continued under John's son and successor, John Frederick, in the fullest measure. The latter, born in 1503, had already at the time when he was growing into manhood, heartily accepted Luther's doctrines, and had attached himself to him as to a spiritual father. In return, Luther evinced toward him a confiding social attitude, in which, however, he never forgot the dignity and princely character of his friend. He was yet a young man when he assumed the reins of government; and a few days after his father's death he appeared in Wittenberg, where he invited Luther to preach in the castle and to dine with him; the latter boldly, in the presence of some friends, gave expression to his fears that the large number of counsellors the young Elector had around him might attempt to use their influence for evil, and that he would have to pay dearly for his experience with them. It might be, he said, that many dogs would bark around him so as to render him deaf and incapable of hearing others; especially might these counsellors evince antipathy to the ministers of the church, and, in case one of the latter would undertake to give counsel, they might exclaim: "What kind of advice can this scribbler give?" But his relations to the prince remained undisturbed. He saw with joy that he began everywhere to draw the reins closer, which his too amiable father had suffered to be relaxed too much, and hoped that, if God would grant peace for a few years, John Frederick would undertake important reforms in the government, and not only suggest them, but also carry them out.

Sibylla, the wife of John Frederick, and a princess of Cleves, also sympathized with the intimate friendship existing between the Elector and Luther. The Prince had married her in 1526, after Luther had been consulted in reference to this alliance, and had warned him against an unnecessary delay and postponement of an act which God seemed to favor. A friendly relation soon sprang into existence between her and Luther and his wife, and this is apparent from a letter which during the absence of her

husband the Princess wrote to Luther in January 1529. In the letter she states that she will not conceal from him, as her "kind lover of God's comforting Word, that because her beloved lord and husband is now absent, she is very lonesome, and therefore desired to be comforted by Luther, and would like to spend some pleasant hours with him; but being in the distant Weimar, she would have to forego this pleasure, and therefore would commend all her interests, also Luther and his dear wife, to the gracious God, and derive consolation from Him." At the close, she requests him: "Kindly greet your dear wife, and wish her a thousand good-nights, and if it were God's will, I would wish to be with her and also with you." For similar greetings and friendly concern for his family's good-health, Luther in his last days still expressed his gratitude.

In the tenth year of the Elector's government, Luther could openly and confidently defend him against unfriendly criticism in the following words: "He leads, thank God, a chaste, honorable life and walk, speaks the truth, has a charitable hand to help churches, schools and the needy, an earnest, firm and faithful heart to honor God's Word, to punish the wicked, to protect the pious, to preserve peace and good government. His marital relations are so pure and praiseworthy that he can be regarded as a model for all princes, lords, and every one. The wife is a modest, Christian woman, who is like a cloister, to use a common proverb. The word of God is daily heard there; they attend the house of worship, pray and praise the Lord, and I will not say how much the Elector himself reads and writes every day." There was one thing, however, which Luther was unwilling to defend against adverse criticism, and that was that his Prince, especially when guests were present, would occasionally indulge to an unbecoming excess at the table, and he regretted that not only the court, but all Germany, was addicted to intemperance; but then he thought that John Frederick was physically able to stand more than others, and with the exception of this one fault, he thinks that even the enemies of the Prince discerned in him distinguished qualities, and all the virtues of an honorable ruler and a chaste husband. Luther's personal relations to the Elector did not cause any hesitation in giving publicity through the press to both the censure and the praise.

In his university lectures, from the year 1531 on, probably for

several terms, Luther again explained Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. He had been lecturing on it already before and during the Indulgence controversy, in order to explain to, and inculcate upon his hearers and readers the great doctrine of justification by faith which that letter contains in such a concise and convincing manner. This continued to be for him the fundamental truth. Fully and clearly developed, and in his accustomed freshness, power and fervor, he expanded it anew. His lectures, published with a preface from his own pen by the Wittenberg chaplain, Rörer, in 1535, contain the most extensive and elaborate exposition of his doctrine of salvation, as based on Paul's words. In the opening passages of these lectures, he says that it was not his intention to give anything new, since by the grace of God the whole of Paul had now become well-known; but that the greatest danger still consisted in this, that Satan might crowd out the doctrine of this faith and again substitute his doctrine of human works and precepts; that the true doctrine could never be elucidated and enforced too frequently, and that with it stood and fell all knowledge of truth, with it flourished the whole of religion, the worship and the house of God. In the preface to the book he says: "In my heart reigns the one supreme article which is faith in Christ; out of which, through which, and to which, all my thoughts on theology ebb and flow, by day and night." To his friends he says of the Epistle to the Galatians: "This is my Epistle, to which I am betrothed; it is my Katharine von Bora." To some extent he was, at that time, prevented from preaching to the congregation on account of ill-health. At home, however, since the spring of 1532, he was accustomed to preach to his family, household and friends, every Lord's day.

But the greatest theological work with which he desired to serve his whole nation, continued to be at this period also the advancement and final completion of the translation of the Bible. After having, in the year 1532, issued the translation of the Prophets, which had cost him extraordinary labor and diligence, nothing remained except the Old Testament Apocrypha, or those books which in his edition of the Bible he himself designates as not of equal authority with the other books, but useful and good to be read. With good reasons he often uttered a sigh when at work upon these. Thus in November, 1532, while busily engaged with the translation of the Son of Sirach, he writes

to his friend Amsdorf, that he hoped to be delivered from this tread-mill in three weeks; but the German dress in which he has clothed the Book of Wisdom would show no signs of weariness or vexation. Although it took a long time to complete the work, and the interruptions were frequent, yet it is a work of inherent unity and harmony, and shows to its very close how the translator lived and moved in his subject, and at the same time remained in intimate connection with the people for whom he wrote and whose language he spoke. Finally, in the year 1534, the whole German Bible appeared in print, and already in the following year a new edition was necessary. Of the New Testament, with which Luther had made the beginning, there had appeared down to 1533, sixteen editions under his supervision, and over fifty different reprints.

For the wants and necessities of the church, Luther hoped that the energy of his new sovereign would vigorously enforce the visitations, through which now a new and well arranged organization in church affairs had been established, but which had discovered more sores than they had healed, and had even as yet not extended over all the parishes. Luther, in conjunction with Melanchthon and Jonas, had already been asked by the Elector John for an opinion regarding the reestablishment of these visitations, and only four days before his death the Prince had given the necessary orders to his Chancellor Brück. Already in the first year of his government, John Frederick, in accordance with an agreement with the States, organized these new visitations. It was now the object to promote a better discipline among the members of the congregations; against drunkenness, unchastity, frivolous profanity, the sin of sorcery, and the like. Luther, as well as Melanchthon, personally were no longer called upon to act in the capacity of visitors; in Luther's place Bugenhagen became a member of the commission for the Saxony district. His own views in reference to the condition of affairs among the people remained gloomy. He complained that the Gospel produced so little fruit over against the powers of the flesh and the world, and did not expect an important and general improvement through ecclesiastical legislation, but always laid the main stress on the faithful preaching of the Divine Word, and committed the results to God. He had especial occasion to accuse noblemen and peasants of open or secret resistance to this Word. Thus, he

exclaims in a letter to Spalatin, in the year 1533: "O how shamefully ungrateful are our times! Everywhere in our land noblemen and peasants conspire against the Gospel, while enjoying the freedom it bestows; such is their arrogance. Here God will judge!" Of indifference and immorality he also had occasion to complain even in his immediate neighborhood, among the people of Wittenberg. Thus, in the year 1534, on the day of John the Baptist, he concluded his sermon with a sharp warning to the intemperate, who during the time of service would spend their time in drinking-houses, and also an admonition to the city officials to do their duty with firmness in such cases so as not to incur the punishment of the Elector and of God.

In the immediate vicinity of the Elector, the entire principality of Anhalt now adopted the evangelical confession which Prince Wolfgang, in Köthen, had previously embraced and faithfully practiced, and at the same time close ties of friendship were there formed with Luther, such as existed between him and the Elector. Anhalt-Dessau was at that time governed by the three nephews of Wolfgang, John, Joachim, and George. They had early lost their father. The guardian of the first of these was the strictly Roman Catholic Elector of Brandenburg; of the second, George of Saxony; and of George, the Cardinal Archbishop Albert. George, born in the year 1507, as early as 1518 obtained the office of prebendary in Merseburg, and afterwards became provost of the cathedral in Magdeburg. Already as a youth he was the object of the cardinal's especial pride, on account of his splendid talents, and he did honor to his office by faithfulness, zeal, and integrity. The new doctrines were for him the source of heavy mental struggles; his theological studies had shown him how weak the foundations of the Roman ecclesiastical system were; the former had been represented to him in a suspicious light, as if with their evangelical freedom and justification by faith they tended toward revolution and immorality. But they conquered him when he became acquainted with them in their purity, as expounded in the Augsburg Confession and in its Apology written by Melancthon, while he was disgusted with the Romish refutation presented at the Diet of Augsburg. With him, his two brothers embraced the evangelical faith, whose pious character could as little be called into question by the opponents as his own. In the year 1532 they called Luther's friend,

Nicolaus Hausmann as their court preacher, and invited Luther and Melancthon to visit them in Woerlitz. George himself, in virtue of his office as provost and archdeacon at Magdeburg, then introduced visitations and caused the candidates for the ministry to be examined in Wittenberg. Luther commends the three brothers as "upright princes of princely and Christian character;" and they had, in truth, been reared by cultured and pious parents. Through letters and visits he remained in close and intimate communion with them. In the case of Joachim, an especial occasion for this was a tendency to melancholy on his part. As Luther strengthened him with spiritual consolation, thus he also reminds him that he could and should seek recreation in conversation, music, and games. Thus he wrote to him in the year 1534: "Cheerfulness and good humor, refined and chaste character, are the best medicine for the young; yes, for all men. I, who have always been living in sorrow and depression, now seek and find recreation wherever I can. . . . Pleasure of a sinful nature is of Satan, but pious, pure and honorable pleasure, in the company of good men, is pleasing to God; may your highness be cheerful always, inwardly in Christ, and outwardly in his gifts and blessings. This is his desire, and he gives us his blessings to make use of them, so that we shall be joyful and praise him forever."

Through these years also, although not so persistently, the negotiations concerning the general interests of the church at large, concerning the re-establishment of harmony in the Christian church of the west, and a union within the pale of Protestantism, continued.

The religious peace had been concluded with the promise of a council, and until the time of the meeting of a council. Even before the close of the year 1532, the Emperor, in a personal conference which he held with Clemens in Bologna, induced the pope to announce the convocation of a council. He forced him to this, by threatening him with an especial national synod of Germany, to which also, in consequence of the stubborn resistance of the pope to a council, faithful Roman Catholic states might consent, and the result of which promised to be a union of the German nation against the papal see. He, of course, knew how little the holy father, in giving his promise, thought of keeping it. The latter now sends his legate to the German princes to make preparations for the promised assembly; the Emperor sent his

ambassador along, both for the purpose of controlling as well as assisting the other. After these had made their appearance at the court of John Frederick at Weimar, the Elector also took council with Luther, Bugenhagen, Jonas and Melanchthon, in regard to their proposals, coming in person to Wittenberg, June 15, 1533, and demanded of them a written opinion. In the papal invitation to the council it was stated that in accordance with the wishes of the Germans, it should be a free Christian council, and secondly, that it should be held as had been the custom from the beginning. Luther thereupon declared that this sentence darkly "muttered" like a half angel and a half devil. For if the expression "from the beginning" really signified the first Christian assemblies, such as were described in Acts xv., then this council would have to decide, according to God's word, independently and without any regard to the councils held at later periods; but a council held according to the later custom, as, for instance, the council at Constance had been held, was contrary to the Word of God, but in accordance with human opinions and passions. While the pope announced that the contemplated council was a free one, he was mocking the Emperor, the prayers of the evangelical men, and the decrees of the diet. Further, it would be impossible for him to permit a free and Christian assembly, for he knew well how badly he might fare there. Finally, Luther's advice briefly consisted in carefully restricting the reply to the most necessary points, and then to await results. He declared: "I consider it best not to enter into negotiations any further than is necessary and within the bounds of moderation, and to give pope and Emperor no chance of bringing disgrace upon us. Let them then hold a council or hold no council; when the time comes, we can consider further." And soon it became apparent enough that Clement did not sincerely desire to convoke one. He now made arrangements with King Francis, who was once more scheming against the power of Charles V., and contrived to procure from him a desire that the council should not be held; and in March, 1534, he announced to the German princes that, in accordance with the wishes of the king, he had decided to postpone the convocation of the council.

How strongly Luther himself—with or without a council—remained firm in his opposition to the papal system, he at that time began to show by several new publications. Thus especially by

his book "Concerning the Secret Mass and the Consecration of Priests." Concerning private Mass and the sacrifice of the body of Christ, which was represented as offered therein, he now said that in this case, where the ordinance of Christ was so entirely perverted, Christ's body was not at all present, but mere bread and mere wine, which were in pure idolatry worshiped by the priest and presented to others for worship. He knows that he will here be confronted with the words: "church, church, usage, usage," just as they had answered him when he attacked the Indulgences; but neither church nor usage had been able to sustain the Indulgences. He acknowledges that the church has a holy habitation even in the papal system; for it still upheld baptism, the reading of the Gospel, prayer, the apostolic creed, etc. But, as in the sharpest of his previous writings, so now again he maintains that diabolical outrage had usurped the holy place, and had so thoroughly permeated the whole system that the light of the Holy Ghost alone could discriminate between them. Over against those priests who read Masses and the corrupt oil with which they were anointed, he sets the general priesthood of Christians and the evangelical ministry. In this respect, too, he remained firm to his principles, even though he saw how few in the congregations remained faithful to the priestly character bestowed upon them in baptism, and to what extent in the arrangement and organization of the office of the ministry he was compelled to be regulated by the existing state of things and by historical circumstances. He now again repeats: "We all become priests by baptism; after that we select and call out of the priests thus created to fill those offices, certain ones who are to act in our stead." In the conduct of the church services and in the truly Christian Mass, he desires to give prominence to this universal priesthood, and for this appeals to the order of worship as really practiced in the evangelical congregations. "There," he says, "the minister or servant of God stands before the altar, having been rightfully and publicly called to this office; he publicly and distinctly intones the words as uttered when Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, takes the bread and the wine and distributes them by virtue of the words of Christ, and we kneel beside him, men, women, young, old, lord, servant, mistress, maid, all holy fellow priests, sanctified through the blood of Christ; and in such our priestly dignity we then appear, having (as is described in Rev. chap. 4) the golden

crowns upon our heads, harps and golden incense-vessels in our hands, and allowing our ministers to speak the words of Christ, not for himself, but he is the mouth for us all, and we all pronounce it with him from our hearts, and with our hearts raised by faith to the Lamb of God that satisfies us with his body and blood."

Erasmus, in the year 1533, published a work in which he attempted in his way to labor for a restoration of harmony in the church, by advising that the abuses in practice be abolished, and in doctrinal controversies moderation be shown, but always plainly evincing his submission to the church. Over against him Luther, in a preface he wrote to the refutation of the Marburg theologian Corvinus, hits the nail on the head. "Erasmus," he says, "only strengthens the papists, who were not conscientiously seeking for the real truth, but rather only continue the cry, 'church, church, church!'" For Erasmus too was always declaring that he would obey the church, but at the same time the real thing in question he left doubtful and uncertain. "What," asks Luther, "is to be done with those good souls, who, being bound by the word of divine truth, are not able to believe doctrines that manifestly contradict the Scriptures? Shall we tell them to listen to the pope so that peace and harmony may be established?" When then Erasmus desired to effect a union in faith by mutual concessions, Luther declares this an impossibility, already for the reason that the opponents, by their constant appeal to church authority, absolutely refused any concession on their part. And as regards a "harmony of love," he found no necessity for this as far as the Evangelical party was concerned, for they were willing to do and to suffer everything, providing no attempt was made to impose anything upon them contrary to their faith; they had never thirsted for the blood of their opponents, whereas these would persecute them with fire and sword. In Erasmus himself, Luther saw, as has been remarked before, only a skeptic, who by his submission to the church, sought only quiet and safety for himself and his studies and mental enjoyments. Regarding him in this light, he, in the year 1534, in a letter directed as an answer to Amsdorf, and intended for publication, heaps reproaches upon him, which he doubtless uttered in honest indignation, but in which his indignation made him incapable of impartially appreciating his opponent or of calmly perusing his writings. He saw the evil spirit of Erasmus continuing its work in other men, to whom

the true character of the Romish church had been revealed, but who had, nevertheless, again submitted to it. This was the case, for instance, with his former friend Crotus, who had now entered the service of Cardinal Albert, and as his "parasite," as Luther calls him, now reviled the Reformation; also with the theologian George Witzel, a pupil of Wittenberg and of Erasmus, who had formerly been suspected even of favoring the peasant insurrection and doubting the doctrine of the Trinity, yet now, however, sought only a reformation according to Erasmus' ideas, and belonged to the most famous literary opponents of the Lutheran Reformation. Luther, however, regarded it as a work of supererogation, after what he had already said concerning the leader, to take further notice of a subordinate advocate of this school.

Beside Luther's polemics against the Romish church, we have finally yet to notice some clashing between him and Duke George. The latter had, in 1532, expelled the Evangelical citizens of Leipzig and Oschatz, had further decreed that every person should be able to prove that he had attended confession once a year, and then had expelled seventy or eighty Leipzig men with their families, who would not submit. Luther sent to these exiles consoling letters, and to those who were threatened admonition and advice, which reached publicity. George then complained to the Elector against him, that he was even inciting his subjects to rebellion. The effect of this was that Luther wrote all the sharper against him in an open answer, while George induced Cochläus to write against Luther. Further developments were cut short by an agreement which the two Princes made in November, 1533, in reference to several matters in dispute between them. In this their respective theologians were also admonished to peace. However, Luther had there for the future spoken a weighty word to the persecuted brethren in Leipzig, by reminding them of what great and unexpected things the Lord had done since the Diet of Worms, and how many blood-thirsty persecutors had already been swept away: "Let us," he says, "wait a little while for what the Lord will do; who knows what God will do, after the Diet of Augsburg, before ten years are past?"

As little as Luther now also was willing to hear of yielding in matters of faith or of a submission to a Roman council of the old style, so faithfully he desired to cling to the "political harmony"

above mentioned. In a faithful, "general Christian and good German spirit" he accompanies the German troops who marched out against the Turks, and hoped that the Emperor would rout them completely. He did not reflect on the dangers which a decisive victory of Charles V. over his foreign foes would occasion for the German Protestants, and how these therefore would be divided, at least in their hopes and desires, on account of this war. He again saw in him only the "dear, pious Emperor." The same success he wished him over his wicked French enemy. Especially did he constantly accuse the pope of an inimical spirit against him; the popes had always been the enemies of the Emperors, and had betrayed the most pious Emperors, and had resisted them in the most stubborn manner.

Philip of Hessen, in the beginning of the year 1534, was contemplating the plan that proved so successful to Protestantism, namely, by force of arms to take Würtemberg from King Ferdinand, and restore it to the exiled Count Ulrich. We found Ulrich, whom the Swabian league, on the judgment of the Emperor in 1519, had deprived of his country and turned it over to the house of Austria, already in 1529 with the Landgrave, with whom he attended the colloquium at Marburg, and whose opinions regarding church matters he now shared. Since that time the Swabian league had been dissolved, and Philip seized the favorable opportunity to take some steps in behalf of his friend. The king of France promised assistance, and in Germany the good Roman Catholic Bavarians especially were glad to have the Austrian power weakened. To Luther, upon whose publicly expressed opinion so much depended, and whose conscientious counsels were so influential, particularly with the Elector Frederick, Philip sent a communication in advance through Pastor Ottinger, in Cassel, for fear he might otherwise receive false information concerning his military preparations, as though he contemplated a movement against the Emperor. It was rather his object "rightfully to conduct back and establish Count Ulrich according to the demands of justice before God and his imperial majesty;"—this, says Ottinger, "according to the command of his prince he did not keep a secret from Luther." But Luther, at a conference between the Elector and the Landgrave in Weimar, protested against a breach of the country's peace that would bring disgrace upon the Gospel, and the Elector then withdrew from the under-

taking. But Philip quickly and successfully carried it out. Ferdinand, who in the absence of the Emperor was without assistance, recognized the Count in the treaty of Kadan, and the latter then commenced the work of a reformation in the church of Würtemberg. Luther now saw the hand of God manifest in this, that, contrary to all expectations, no injury had been done and peace had again been established: God would guide the affair to the end.

In the meanwhile the Schmalkald allies firmly maintained their league, and were endeavoring to strengthen it still more, and to prepare for every emergency. A doubt as to whether they should throw their arms against the Emperor in case he broke the peace no longer disturbed them. The embarrassment into which the Landgrave had placed King Ferdinand by the conquest of Würtemberg, also proved advantageous to them: Ferdinand promised, in the treaty of Kadan, to protect them against the suits which, notwithstanding the religious peace, the supreme imperial court allowed to be brought against them, while, on the other hand, John Frederick and his allies now recognized him as Roman king.

And, in the interests embodied in this league, to establish firmly organized power over against Roman Catholicism and its threats, those efforts for a union within Protestantism were also continued, for which Bucer was unceasingly active, and upon which among the princes, the Landgrave Philip laid the greatest stress.

Luther did not suffer himself to change in any particular in his conception of Zwinglianism, and in his attitude to the whole system of which he considered it a part, although he later confessed that through the personal meeting at Marburg he had learned to pass a more friendly judgment on Zwingli's character. In a warning which he directed to the mayor and council of the town of Münster, in December, 1532, he again classes Zwingli, Münzer, and the other leaders of the Anabaptistic movement, together, as fanatics over whom God had passed judgment and pointed to the fact, that whoever had once become a follower of Zwingli, or of Münzer, or of the Anabaptistic sects, easily became rebellious and resisted civil government. In the beginning of the following year he published "A letter to those in Frankfort-on-the-Main," in order to counteract the Zwinglian doctrines and movements there,

and warned the people of Augsburg against their ministers, since these pretended to be one with him in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but in reality were not. He no longer entered upon a discussion of the character of the opposite doctrine. It was not the concern for the victory of his own doctrine that moved him, for this he in all confidence committed to God, but rather the fear that under the appearance of an agreement with him, error could be smuggled in, and in general deception would be practiced in such an important and holy thing. This suspicion he could never rid himself of in reference to Bucer.

He now, to his great grief, observed that the spirit which animated Münzer and the Anabaptists was developing in superfluity the wicked and terrible fruit which he was convinced were its natural consequences. For in Münster, where his warnings had remained unheeded, the Anabaptists had gained the upper hand since February, 1534. These who claimed to possess the truly intellectual and spiritual Christianity, there established a kingdom of saints characterized by wild, carnal fanaticism, gross service of the flesh and a wild thirst for blood, which was overthrown in the following year by the archbishop and the imperial troops, and resulted in the exclusion of Protestantism from the city, which was again put under the government of the bishop. Luther in a letter at that time spoke thus of the Zwinglian sacramentalism: "May God in mercy remove this stumbling block, that it need not be removed with as much violence as was the case in Münster."

Bucer, however, was not discouraged, nor did he relax his efforts. He wanted to bring the agreement in doctrine, which had in reality already been established between Luther and the South Germans, who had been admitted to the Swabian league, to a decided recognition and public expression. He exerted himself and hoped to instruct the Zürichers, and the other Swiss, that, as was really the case, they gave too gross a meaning to Luther's declarations, and sought to bring their own in as close approximation to his as possible. They would, however, go no further than to confess that the Lord's body in the Supper was truly present as food for believing souls, and were scarcely less suspicious from their standpoint of his attempts at compromise than Luther was from his. Bucer represented to the Landgrave that the South German cities, that were allied with him, had become one in the doctrine, and that the Swiss desired nothing more than that the

Lord and his body should not be regarded as "food for the stomach;" something not intended by Luther himself. For even if the latter did say that the body of Christ is eaten with the mouth, he himself had given the explanation that the mouth touched only the bread but not the body, and that that declaration was to be maintained only on account of the sacramental union, that is, that the mouth ate the bread with which the body is united in the sacrament. It was now, he thought, only a controversy about words; it was so difficult to settle it, because "they had been scolding each other so much, and given the devil so much scope."

The Landgrave Philip wrote to Luther, and the latter now again with warmth gave expression to his desire for an "abiding harmony," in which there could be an alliance against the unmeasured defiance of the papists; but he again expressed his apprehension that the affair might again remain "fragile and uncertain." The prince, then, with Luther's consent, arranged a colloquium between Melancthon and Bucer in Cassel, for December 27, 1534. Luther sent a "query whether an agreement can be reached or not," in which he, with studied exactness and precision, repeats those expressions of his doctrine to which we heard Bucer refer. There should be nothing doubtful or ambiguous in the whole matter. And as Bucer now also fully agreed with Luther's true meaning, and sent him a declaration to Wittenberg to the effect that the Lord's body was truly present, and yet did not become food for the stomach, Luther, in January, 1535, gave the following opinion: "Because the pastors of South Germany desire to teach according to the (Augsburg) Confession, he could and would not, as far as he personally was concerned, reject such a union; and because they distinctly confess that Christ's body is in reality and in essence distributed and eaten, he could not, providing their hearts meant what the words spoke, say anything against these words. He desired, however, since there was so much mistrust among his own associates still, that the agreement be not concluded too hastily, but to wait a time so as to quiet all." "In this manner," he says, "those on one side can in the meanwhile mitigate their suspicion or displeasure, and then finally drop these entirely; and when then the muddy water on both sides has become clear, the proper permanent agreement could be concluded." During these negotiations no consideration whatever was taken of the Swiss.

With this Bucer and Philip had to be satisfied for the present. In reality, it was a long stride forward. This project for a union, together with the council which was to promote the union of the whole church for the next years, assumes a prominent position in Luther's life and labors.

CHAPTER II.

NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING A COUNCIL AND CONCERNING A UNION BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS.—LEGATE VERGERIUS, 1535.

—WITTENBERG CONCORD, 1536.

POPE PAUL III., who, in October, 1534, succeeded Clement VII., appeared to be determined from the beginning to bring about the promised council. And undoubtedly he had really decided to do so. He was not as indifferent to the real interests of the church and to the necessity of certain reforms as his predecessor, and hoped, like a shrewd politician, to give the council, which could no longer be avoided, a turn favorable to popery. In order to negotiate concerning this, and especially concerning the place for the meeting, for which he selected Mantua, he sent a messenger to Germany in the person of the Cardinal Vergerius.

In August, 1535, Luther was asked by the Elector to give an opinion in reference to the papal proposals. He was of the opinion that the answer which had been given two years previous would still suffice. The prince had at that time quite energetically maintained that harmony could be restored to the church through a council, but had also demanded that its decisions should be guided by God's Word alone, and declared that he could promise nothing definitely without the consent of his allies. However, he would even now not yet believe that the council would really be held.

The University of Wittenberg had been removed that summer to Jena, on account of a renewed appearance of the plague, or at least the fear of it, and it remained there until the following February, while Luther for himself could not be persuaded to leave Wittenberg. He could remain with Bugenhagen in Wittenberg in all comfort and good spirits, and amuse himself at the empty alarm of others. On the 9th of July he wrote to the Elector, who was concerned about him, that only one or two cases of sickness had occurred, and that the atmosphere was not yet poisoned; but because it was dog-days and the young people were frightened, it would be well to let them amuse themselves in

order to quiet their fears, until it would be clear how matters would turn out; but he noticed "that some became afflicted with sores on their pockets, some with colic in their books, some with gout on paper," and some had probably eaten their mothers' letters, and had in consequence become heartsick and homesick; that it was the duty of a Christian government to provide strong medicine for such diseases, lest an unusual mortality be the result, in order to vex Satan, the enemy of all science and culture. Besides, he was astonished that so much was known of the existence of the terrible plague in Wittenberg by those without, while those within knew nothing of it, and how a lie grew more certain and larger and thicker the further it traveled. He assured his friend, Jonas, who had left with the University, that he was satisfied and in good health in his solitude, only there was scarcity of beer in the town, although he still had some in his cellar. He was not frightened even then, when he was repeatedly compelled to acknowledge that some deaths had resulted from the plague, and that on one occasion his own coachman appeared to be attacked by it. But during the winter he was tormented with colds and catarrh troubles. And to a friend he writes: "The severest sickness is beginning with me, inasmuch as I am getting old, of which disease, as you well know, many have already died."

The papal nuncio now came even into the city of Luther, and wanted to confer with him. After having had a conference in Halle with Archbishop Albert, he started for Berlin, by way of Wittenberg, to see the Elector of Brandenburg. On the afternoon of November 6, Saturday, he arrived at Wittenberg with a stately retinue, with twenty-one horses and one ass, to spend the night, and was received with great honors in the Elector's castle by an official named Metzsch. At his request Luther was invited the same evening to take supper with him, and as this was declined, the invitation was renewed for breakfast next morning, in which Bugenhagen was included. It was the first time since the citation by Cajetan, in Augsburg, 1518, that he had an opportunity to speak with a papal legate: he who since that time had been execrated by the pope as a despicable child of destruction, and by whom in turn the former had been declared the antichrist. It appeared eminently important to Vergerius to attempt to make some impression on him who was the influential counsellor of the Protestant princes, so that he might not thwart his plan in reference to

the council; and in undertaking this, Vergerius must have possessed no little self-confidence.

On the following day Luther sent for his barber at an unusually early hour. When the latter expressed his surprise at this, he jokingly said: "I have to meet the pope's nuncio to-day; if I assume a youthful appearance, he may think: What! if this Luther has been causing us so much trouble while he is yet young, what will he not do by the time he gets old?" Then dressed in his best, with a golden chain around his neck, he rode to the castle in company with the pastor of the town, Bugenhagen, called Pommeranus, because he was from Pommerania. On the way he said: "Here ride the German pope and Cardinal Pommeranus, instruments in God's hands."

In the presence of the legate, as he himself afterwards expressed it, "he played the whole Luther." He made use of only the most necessary forms of politeness, and permitted himself to indulge in the "most irritating" expressions. Thus he asked the legate whether he was regarded in Italy as a drunken German. When the conversation turned on the solution of the difficulties of the church by means of a council, Vergerius reminded him that a single fallible man could not regard himself as wiser than the councils, the old fathers, and other theologians of Christendom. He, on the other hand, boldly asserted that the papists were not in earnest about a council, and would, in case it were held, deliberate only on useless subjects, such as monastic vestments; priest's tonsure, laws of merits, and the like, upon which the legate turned to a companion sitting near with these words: "He hits the nail on the head." Further Luther declared, "They," the Evangelical party, "had no need of a council since they were sure of the correctness of their doctrine; but, for the sake of the poor deceived people still under papal rule, there should be a council." He, however, promised his personal presence at the proposed council, even if he were burned there; it was also a matter of indifference to him whether it was to be held in Mantua, or Padua, or Florence. Vergerius answered: "Will you be willing to come to Bologna?" Luther: "Who is ruler of Bologna?" Vergerius: "The pope." Luther: "Great heavens, has the pope also stolen this town? Very well, I will meet you there." Vergerius: "The pope also would not refuse to come here to Wittenberg." Luther: "Very well; he will be welcome." Ver-

gerius: "Shall he come armed or unarmed?" Luther: "As he likes; no matter how he comes, we will await and receive him." When the legate, after breakfast, mounted his horse to depart, he said to Luther: "See to it that you are prepared for the council." Luther answered: "Yes, my lord, with both this neck and head of mine."

Afterwards, Vergerius reported that he had found Luther coarse in his conversation, and his Latin wretched, and gave him only short answers, and assigned as a pretext for this meeting that Luther and Bugenhagen being the only learned men then in Wittenberg with whom he could converse in Latin, they had been invited to meet him. He evidently felt disappointed in the expectations and purposes which he had cherished for this meeting. Ten years later, however, after having become acquainted with the character of the evangelical doctrines by opposing them, this influential man adopted them himself.

In the meanwhile, while all eyes were turned toward the council, the fortunes of the Evangelical party assumed for the time being the most favorable aspect.

During the summer of 1535, an expedition which the Emperor had undertaken against the corsair, Chaireddin Barbarossa, in Tunis, kept him at a distance. Luther rejoiced over the great victory with which God had there crowned him. The king of France was pressing new demands on Italian possessions. The jealousy between Austria and Bavaria continued. In church matters, King Ferdinand learned to appreciate Lutheranism, at least as a counterbalancing power to the still more objectionable Zwinglianism. John Frederick, in November, 1535, went to Vienna, in order finally to receive from him, in the name of the Emperor, the investiture of the electoral dignity, and met with a friendly reception.

Under such circumstances the Schmalkald League, at a convention held in December, 1535, in Schmalkald, could decide to invite also other States of the Empire, who had not yet been acknowledged in the religious peace as allies of the Augsburg Confession. Prominent among those who had recently accepted this confession were two counts, Barnim and Philip, of Pommerania. Philip also married a sister of John Frederick. Luther performed the marriage ceremony on the evening of February 27, 1536, in Torgau, and Bugenhagen, as was customary, next morning after

the nuptials, pronounced a blessing on the young couple, because Luther had been prevented by a renewed attack of vertigo from performing this service.

In the following spring, accordingly, a convention of the allies at Frankfort-on-the-Main received the count of Würtemberg, the counts of Pommerania, the princes of Anhalt, and several cities, as members of the league.

Outside of Germany, the kings of France and of England sought an alliance with the allies. Naturally the questions of church and religion were the main considerations in this association. Luther was also called upon for his advice. King Francis, under whose rule so many evangelical subjects complained of oppression and persecution, while contemplating a new expedition into Italy, and for that reason seeking the alliance of the German Protestants against the Emperor, pretended with some earnestness that he in reality intended to introduce important reforms in church affairs, and would like their assistance in carrying out his intention. He asked that Luther and Melanchthon should be sent to him for this purpose. With these he entered into negotiations personally. Melanchthon was very much attracted by the promising field of usefulness that appeared to be opened here. But the Elector refused him permission to go, and chided him for having committed himself to the project. Without any doubt Melanchthon's expectations were entirely groundless; the king was concerned only for his political projects, and under no circumstances was he willing to allow his subjects the right of religious convictions that were opposed to his opinions. Besides, the relations then existing between John Frederick and King Ferdinand were of such a friendly nature that the former was unwilling to disturb them by an alliance with the enemies of the Emperor. Melanchthon, however, was very much excited on account of the refusal and the reproof; he was suspicious that some one had been maliciously intriguing against him at the court. Luther at first, moved by Melanchthon's wish, and the request of evangelical Frenchmen, had kindly and warmly asked the Elector to permit his friend "to go to France in God's name." "Who knows," he says, "what God intends to accomplish?" Afterwards, he also was alarmed for his friend's sake, on account of the sharp letter of the Elector, but had to acknowledge that the latter was right in his suspicions concerning the French proposals.

An alliance with England would in so far have been safer, as in the case of Henry VIII., no relapse to papacy was to be feared, and on account of his matrimonial relations, a reconciliation with the Emperor could scarcely be expected. Embassadors from him appeared in the year 1535 in the electorate of Saxony, and at the convention at Schmalkald. He, too, wanted Melancthon to come to England to confer with him concerning the true Christian doctrines and church government; and Luther, in this instance, also asked the Elector for the necessary permission. But already, in the negotiations which were conducted with the embassadors in Germany, it became apparent how little, in the chief points in the doctrines of justification or of the Mass, they could hope for an agreement with Henry VIII., who, as autocrat, insisted as persistently on a still existing Catholic orthodoxy as on an opposition to the papal power. Luther, as early as January, was thoroughly disgusted with the fruitless negotiations with the English, saying that, "Professing to be wise they became fools" (Rom. i. 22). He acknowledged then, in a manifesto issued for the Elector, that it would be necessary to have patience with England in reference to the proper reforms, but guarded himself against the idea that it would be necessary for that reason to depart from the fundamental doctrines of faith, and that more concessions should be made to the king of England than to the Emperor, or the pope. The decision of the question, whether, notwithstanding this, a political alliance should be entered into with the former, he left, as it was entirely a worldly affair, in the hands of the prince and his counsellors; but he considered such a step dangerous where the heads were not of one mind. How hazardous it was to have anything to do with Henry VIII. was apparent soon after by his treatment of his second wife, Anne Boleyn, whom he caused to be executed on the 19th of May, 1536: Luther called this a horrible tragedy.

Within the bounds of German Protestantism, however, the negotiations concerning the confession of the Lord's Supper were successful in being developed to a formally expressed "Concord." A peace with the Swiss, and the possibility of an alliance with them, was also effected.

After Luther had once gained confidence in the attempts for a union, he himself took them in hand and continued to favor them. In the fall of 1535 he sent letters to a number of cities in South

Germany, to ministers and magistrates, to Augsburg, Strassburg, Ulm, Esslingen. He proposed a convention, in which they could become better acquainted with each other, and see what was yet to be endured, what was to be yielded, and what was not to be insisted upon stringently. He said that he desired nothing more than to be able to close his life, the end of which was at hand, in peace and love and union of spirit with them. They, too, "should so continue, help, pray, and study, that such a harmony might become firm and lasting, so as to stuff Satan's throat, who had rejoiced over their disunion, and had even shouted 'victory!'" It is very manifest from his letters how well he himself was pleased that matters had progressed so far, and to be able to advance them still further. In the correspondence which he conducted with them, and at the same time with the Elector, in reference to the proposed convention, he advised not to invite too many participants, so that no restless and stubborn heads would get among them and destroy the plan. He now saw even among his own adherents some who went too far for him in their zeal for doctrine.

It was accordingly decided to hold the conference in Eisenach the next spring, namely, on the 14th of May, the fourth Sunday after Easter. Luther's physical condition did not permit a journey to more distant localities or in an unfavorable season of the year. Just then, in March, 1536, he was suffering from a new ailment, namely, a terrible pain in the left thigh; and later he informs a friend that on Easter (April 16) he had risen with Christ from the dead, for at that time he had been so ill that he had almost believed, and had anxiously wished, that he would depart to the Lord Jesus Christ.

The South Germans gladly accepted the invitation. The Strassburgers forwarded theirs to the Swiss also, and desired that especially Bullinger, of Zürich, should take part. These, who had not been directly invited from Wittenberg, declined, saying that they were content to remain firm in their confession of faith, which they had just then formulated anew in the so-called "First Helvetic Confession," and in which they had definitely acknowledged at least a spiritual presence offered in the sacramental signs. They could not see what further fruits oral deliberations could produce. They asked, however, that their confession be kindly handed to Luther, and Bullinger in particular sent him greetings from himself and the evangelical Swiss churches. The ministers

who were sent from the different South German cities to Eisenach went by way of Frankfort-on-the-Main, where just then the Schmalkald League was in session. On the 10th of May they started for Eisenach, eleven in number—the congregations at Strassburg, Augsburg, Memmingen, Ulm, Esslingen, Reutlingen, Fürfeld, and Frankfort, were represented by them.

In the very last moment yet, it seemed that the whole success, and indeed even the assembling of the conference was questionable. Melancthon had already been full of apprehension, as he feared the intended oral deliberations would result in an exciting revival of the controversy. Luther had just then been aroused anew against the Zwinglians by a publication from Zwingli's literary remains, which Bullinger had issued with many commendations, and by a recently published correspondence between Zwingli and Œcolampadius, yet Bucer and his friends still desired to maintain friendly relations with these Zwinglians. This correspondence was introduced by a preface from Bucer's pen. Father Luther was in reception of a letter, according to which the people in the South German cities had not yet, as represented, been instructed concerning the real presence of the body in the Lord's Supper. In addition to this, he was suffering severely from the results of his sickness, so that he was not able to travel even as far as Eisenach. In consideration of this, he sent a request to the delegates to proceed on to Grimma, where he would either appear in person, or, if too weak for this, could more easily confer by letter with them and with his friends there present.

These, however, without further deliberations, proceeded on to Wittenberg for a personal interview. In Thuringia they were joined by the ministers Menius of Eisenach, and Myconius of Gotha, two friends of Luther, who with him were truly anxious for a union. The continued personal intercourse on their way contributed much to a mutual understanding. Thus they arrived in Wittenberg on Sunday, the 21st of May.

The following day the two Strassburg theologians, Capito and Bucer, had their first conference with Luther, whose bodily weakness rendered it difficult for him to engage in lengthy deliberations. He openly and distinctly stated the reasons, which he still entertained, why he could not harmonize with them. He would rather let the status that had been reached up to that time

remain, than to consent to a union that was only imagined and would make bad worse. Bucer answered in reference to those Zwinglian publications, that he and his friends were in no way responsible for them, and that the preface, which consisted of one of his letters, had been printed without his wish or will. The decision in reference to the Lord's Supper now concentrated entirely in the question whether, in the sacrament, the unworthy and impious also really partook of the body of the Lord. Luther insisted on this; for him it was the necessary consequence of a bodily presence which existed simply by virtue of the ordination and the sure promise of Christ, to which faith assumed only a confiding and receptive attitude. Bucer emphatically endorsed the objective presence and distribution in itself; but he could acknowledge a real reception of what was offered in the sacrament from above, only by those communicants, who at least, by a certain measure of faith, put themselves into an inner spiritual relation to it, and recognized the ordination of the Lord, but not by those who are present only bodily. The existence of faith was for him, too, sufficient ground to establish the presence of the body, even though this faith be not the true heart-faith, and still be accompanied by moral unworthiness, so that such guests would take the sacrament unto their damnation. He thus acknowledged that the unworthy, but not that the totally unbelieving, could partake of the body and blood of Christ. Luther could then depend on this, that Bucer rejected with him the opinion according to which the body of Christ was present in the sacrament only subjectively and imaginatively, or that opinion according to which faith ascended to the Lord to receive his body, and did not simply receive what is offered and through the offering was to be awakened and strengthened. But palpably the two conceived the manner of the presence and the manner of the reception differently, both indeed, in a secret and scarcely definable way. It was impossible that the difference that still existed, and the lack of a thorough conviction on the part of the South Germans, could escape Luther. It was now a question whether he should overlook this, whether in the doctrine for which he had so sharply contended he now could and would distinguish between the essential and the non-essential, or less essential.

On Tuesday, all the delegates met in his house, together with his Wittenberg friends, and Menius and Myconius. After Bucer

had again acted as spokesman for them, he then questioned them also separately, and after they all had expressed their agreement with Bucer, he, together with his friends, withdrew to another room for a consultation; and he then made answer to them in his own and the names of those in the declaration, that now, after having heard the answer and confession of them all, they were one with them and received them as dear brethren in the Lord, saying they would not quarrel about the doubts which the South Germans expressed in reference to the impious, since they, too, acknowledged that the unworthy also received the body of the Lord. Luther spoke these words, as Myconius relates, with considerable enthusiasm and emphasis, which was displayed in his eyes and in his whole countenance. Capito and Bucer could not keep back their tears. All stood there with folded hands and thanked God.

On the following day, still other points were discussed, concerning which it was yet necessary to reach an understanding, and this was done without any difficulty: thus especially in reference to the importance of infant baptism, and the practice of confessionals and absolution. It was also necessary to quiet the South Germans in reference to certain indifferent outward forms in the church service that had been retained in the Saxon church from the time of Romanism.

On Thursday, the deliberations were interrupted by the festivities of Ascension day. Luther delivered the afternoon sermon, on the text: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." Myconius says of this: "I had before frequently heard Luther, but on this occasion he did not seem to speak alone, but spoke in words of thunder, as if from heaven, in Christ's name."

Not until Saturday did Bucer and Capito bring up their commission from the Swiss. Luther, after having read their confession, declared that certain expressions in it appeared suspicious to him, but expressed the desire that those of Strassburg should continue to negotiate with them, and these made him hopeful, as the congregations in that district, tired of the controversy, desired harmony.

The fraternal relations found a beautiful expression on Sunday, in a general participation in the Lord's Supper, and in the sermons which Alber, of Reutlingen, delivered early in the morning, and Bucer during the forenoon.

On the following morning the convention closed by signing the articles which Melancthon had drawn up, according to their instructions. In reference to the Lord's Supper, the reception of the body by the unworthy also was acknowledged therein, without further mentioning anything concerning the unbelievers. The signers declared the Augsburg Confession, and its Apology, to be their common confession. This action, however, was not to be published until the congregations which it concerned, together with their pastors and governments, had signified their agreement. It would not do, says Luther, to sing triumphal hymns too soon, nor to give the others a reason to complain that the matter had been settled without their knowledge and in secrecy. Luther himself began, on that very Monday, to write letters in order to secure approval from different sides. Among his own associates his intimate friend, Amsdorf, in Magdeburg, for one, had not been so peaceably inclined; only after eight days he communicated to him the result of the conference.

In this way a harmony of confession had been secured for German Protestantism, with the exception of the Swiss, for none of the churches that participated refused its approval. In reference to the Swiss, Luther himself now took a further step by writing to Burgomaster Meyer, of Basel, who especially favored a union, and sent him in return a very friendly and hopeful answer. Bucer still continued his efforts with the Swiss, but with the Wittenberg articles they could not agree. They, that is, the magistrates and pastors of Zürich, Berne, Basel, and some other cities, only gave expression to their joy at Luther's present friendly spirit, and the hope of a future union, and requested Bucer to communicate still further with him concerning their confession and their doubts in reference to his own. It was his intention to do this during a convention which the Schmalkald allies, on account of the announced council, had called together for February, 1537, at Schmalkald.

CHAPTER III.

NEGOTIATIONS CONCERNING A COUNCIL AND CONCERNING A UNION BETWEEN THE PROTESTANTS, CONTINUED—THE DAY IN SCHMALDKALD, 1537—PEACE WITH THE SWISS—LUTHER'S FRIENDSHIP WITH THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN.

A FEW days after the Protestants had effected a union in Wittenberg, the convocation of a Council had made its appearance from Rome, which was to be held the following year in Mantua. The pope already indicated with sufficient clearness how he intended there to treat the Protestants. He declared that the Lutheran heresy was to be eradicated by the Council, and did not want the soul-destroying Lutheran books to be laid before the Council at all, but only extracts from them, and these with a Romish refutation. Thus Luther was immediately compelled to turn his activity in this direction.

Whilst John Frederick, from the very start, wanted to decline the invitation, Luther, together with Melanchthon, favored an acceptance, for it would be better to protest against an unjust procedure in the Council itself. He hoped to have the privilege there at least to speak as a Christian and as a man.

The Elector then authorized him to draw up and elucidate for either event those propositions which, according to his convictions, would necessarily come before a Council, and also for this purpose to invite other theologians. Luther accordingly formulated a document. A few days after Christmas he submitted it to his Wittenberg colleagues, and also to Amsdorf of Magdeburg, Spalatin of Altenburg, and Agricola of Eisleben. The last named was at that time trying to get away from his position in the school at Eisleben and from the Count of Mansfeld, with whom he had some difficulties, and to procure a chair in the Wittenberg University, which had also already been promised him by the Elector, and he left on this occasion, when he was invited to the conference, without permission, with wife and children, for good. Luther received him with accustomed hospital

ity in his own house as a guest. The document was approved by all, and on January 3 was sent to the Elector.

In this joint confession intended for the Council, Luther gives the full and pointed expression which was peculiar to him in his controversies, to his opposition to the Romish doctrine and ecclesiastical system; and while at that time he was very anxious for a reconciliation among the Protestants, he could see no possibility of a reconciliation with the Romanists.

As the first chief article, he maintained that faith in Christ alone justifies; a departure from this would not be permissible, though heaven and earth should fall. He declared the Mass to be the greatest and most horrible abomination, since it "directly and emphatically opposed the chief article," and as the greatest papistic idolatry; besides, this dragon's tail had produced a host of other vermin. Against popery the Augsburg Confession had made confession principally only by remaining entirely silent concerning it when treating of the nature and character of the Christian church. Now Luther insisted on the declaration "that the pope was not the head of all Christendom by a divine right or on the basis of God's Word," for that honor belonged to one alone, whose name is Christ; and further, "that he was the true anti-Christ who had set and exalted himself over and against Christ." In reference to the Council, he expressed the hope that the Protestants there would stand firm before the pope and Satan himself, whose intention it was to listen to nothing, but simply to condemn and to slay; therefore, they should not kiss his feet, but speak to him with the words of Zech. iii. 2: "The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan!"

Concerning their relation to a Council, it was the intention of the allies to deliberate and come to a uniform decision in Schmalkald. An imperial ambassador and a papal nuncio were also to appear in their midst on that occasion. The princes and the delegates from the towns brought their theologians with them, of whom about forty came together; the Elector John Frederick brought Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Spalatin.

The Wittenberg theologians were instructed to meet their prince on the 29th of January, in Torgau. From there they went by slow stages, to the place of the convention, by way of Grimma and Altenburg, where they were entertained in grand style in the royal castles, and by way of Weimar, (where Luther preached on Sunday, the 4th of February). Luther had entrusted his family to the pro

tection of his guest Agricola. On February 7 they arrived at Schmalkald.

The theologians had not yet received any distinct instructions. The members of the convention made their appearance only slowly. The representatives of the Emperor did not appear until the 14th. Luther thought that a sojourn of four weeks might be counted upon. On the 9th of February he again preached in the principal church, in the presence of the assembled princes; he found the church, as he writes to Jonas, so broad and high that his voice seemed to him to sound like that of a shrew-mouse. He, however, during the first days enjoyed his leisure, and was much pleased with the healthy locality and fresh air of the place.

Already on the date first mentioned he began to suffer from the calculus, which had attacked him violently four weeks before. A medical friend relates of him that the dampness of his quarters, and the moisture of his bed-clothing, had had an unfavorable effect on his health. However, the present attack passed over easily, and on the 14th of the same month Luther could announce to Jonas that he was improving. But now he had already become very tired of the idle sojourn in Schmalkald, while he sportively says of their good entertainment, that he and his friends lived there like beggars, eating bread with the Landgrave Philip and the Count of Würtemberg, who had the best bakers, drinking wine with Nürnberg, in getting their meat and fish from the Elector's court, and that the best trout were found here, but were cooked in the same sauce with the other fish, etc.

Then the Elector again set him to work in preparing a paper, declaring his opinion concerning participation in the Council, and he again advised not to refuse this from the start. It was his opinion that to refuse it would be a favor to the pope himself, to whom any hindrances for the Council were very welcome; for he had, by his statements concerning the eradication of the heresy, tried to paint Protestants as black as the devil, in order to frighten them away. Some good people, also, might take offence, and imagine that the war against the Turks, and the urgent demands on the Emperor's time made by the war with France, were being used by the evangelical party as a pretext to refuse the Council, whereas in reality the Romish knaves themselves were counting upon a prevention of the Council by the Turkish and French wars.

Further, Luther now received through Bucer the communications from Switzerland mentioned above, together with a letter from Meyer, the burgomaster of Basel. On the 17th of this month, he sends a joyful and friendly answer to the latter, that it was not his intention in this letter to make declarations and promises, but that his whole purpose was to bring about mutual forgiveness and mutual forbearance in patience and kindness. In this spirit he heartily begs of Meyer "to remain faithful among his surroundings, so that they all would become willing to assist in quieting, pacifying and turning all things to the best"—"that they would not scare sleeping birds." For his side he also promised "to assist as much as possible."

Luther was at this time again indisposed; he closed the above letter with the words: "I have not been able to write to all now, for I have all day been a useless human being on account of a miserable calculus." The following day, Sunday, on which he yet delivered a powerful sermon before a vast audience, his trouble increased considerably, and a week of severe pain followed; as he suffered from ischury, his body began to swell, his stomach refused to retain food, and a general and increasing weakness took possession of him. Several physicians, among them one called from Erfurt, took diligent care of him. He himself afterwards relates: "They gave me to drink as though I had been a huge ox;" and tormented him also with useless mechanical appliances. "I had to obey them," he says, "and did it of necessity, so that it might not appear as though I neglected my body."

He seemed beyond recovery. In the presence of death his thoughts reverted especially to his chief enemy, the pope, who might now triumph; but even in death he was certain of victory over him. He cried to God: "Behold, I die, the enemy of thine enemies, cursed and banished by thine enemy, the pope, so that thine enemy may die under the ban, and we both be judged on that great day." Deeply moved, the Elector stood at his bedside: he expressed his apprehension that God would remove with him also his precious Word. Luther consoled him, saying that there were still many other faithful men, who, by God's grace, would become a wall; but he could not refrain from expressing his anxiety to the prince, that after his death dissensions would arise even among the Wittenberg theologians. The Elector promised to care for his wife and children as for his own. Luther's natural love to

them made the departure hard for him, as he afterwards stated. But to his sorrowing friends he was still able to exhibit some pleasantries. When Melanchthon, upon seeing him, began to weep bitterly, he reminded him of the words of their friend, the hereditary marshal, Hans Loeser, that drinking good beer required no effort, but drinking sour beer did, and then continued with the words of Job: "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" He uttered an awkward pun and said the wicked Jews had stoned the holy Stephen, but his own *stone*, the rascal, *stoned* him." Never, however, did his confidence in God, and his submission desert him. While fearing that his pain would drive him insane, he consoled himself with the reflection that Christ would remain his wisdom and God's wisdom would remain unshaken. While discerning Satan's influence in his sufferings, he had the good hope that, if his enemy should tear him to pieces, Christ would take vengeance on him, and God in turn would tear his enemy to pieces. Only this he would like "to have by prayer secured from the Lord," that he might die in the dominion of his Elector; but he would be ready wherever death would call him. When attacked with vomiting, he moaned: "O, dear Father, take the little soul into thy hands, and I will thank thee;—depart, O thou dear little soul, depart in God's name."

Finally, it was decided that an attempt should be made to remove him to Gotha, especially since there was a lack of medicines in Schmalkald. On the 26th of this month, the Erfurt physician, Sturz, accompanied by Bugenhagen, Spalatin, and Myconius, took him away in a carriage belonging to the Elector; a carriage that contained all kinds of utensils and coal, in order to warm pieces of cloth, accompanied him. On departing, Luther yet said to the assembled friends and nobles: "The Lord fill you with his blessings, and with hatred against the pope."

On the first day they did not attempt a longer journey with their patient over the rough and hilly road than to a place called Tambach, twelve miles distant. The jolting during the ride occasioned almost insufferable pain; but it resulted in an effect which no physician could produce. In the following night, the long desired relief from the bladder was experienced in copious measure, and he immediately felt more comfortable in his whole body, and with his friends was full of joy and thanksgivings. In

the same hour, two o'clock at night, a messenger hastened with the good news to Schmalkald, and Luther sent with him an autograph letter to his "most beloved" Melanchthon. To his wife he wrote from there in these words: "I had been dead, and had commended you and the children to God and to my good sovereign; I pitied you exceedingly." But God had now performed a miracle on him; he felt like born anew, therefore she should thank God, and teach the dear children to thank their Heavenly Father, without whom they would have lost their earthly father.

But already, on the 28th of this month, after he had safely arrived at Gotha, his condition changed for the worse, to such a degree, that on the following night while very weak he again thought his end at hand. He gave instructions to Bugenhagen, who afterwards wrote them down as "the confession and testament of the venerable father;" he expressed his joyful conviction that he had done right in storming popery with God's word, asked his dear Philip, and the other colleagues, to forgive him whatever wrong he might have done them, and sent his faithful Katie words of thanks and consolation that, for the twelve years of joy which she had lived with him, she should accept this affliction also; sent greetings once more to the pastors and citizens of Wittenberg, comforted the Elector and the Landgrave on account of the accusations of sacrilege made against them by the papists, and exhorted them to trust in God in their gospel work, etc.

Next morning, however, he had gained in strength. Bucer, who had had no further opportunity of speaking to him in Schmalkald concerning the confessional union and the relations to the Swiss, upon the reception of this good news, had followed him to Gotha for this purpose with the Augsburg pastor Wolfhart. Notwithstanding his sufferings, Luther conversed with him on this subject that was equally important to him. As an upright man, who hated nothing more than sham and duplicity, he desired them to be faithfully warned against all dissimulation. In case he should die, the Swiss were to be referred to his letter to Meyer; should God grant him life and strength he would certainly send them a written communication.

But while still in Gotha, the decisive turn of his sickness for the better took place, for here six calculi passed from the urethra. The journey was continued with great care and in slow stages, and in Weimar they halted for a considerable time. From Wit-

tenberg, a niece who resided in his house, came to nurse him—probably Lena Kaufmann, the daughter of one of his sisters (see chap. vii.). In his letter from Tambach he had written to his wife that she should make no use of the Elector's offer to have her conveyed to him by carriage, because it was unnecessary. Not until the 14th of March did he arrive at his home. He had been convalescing rapidly during his journey, but for eight days afterwards, as Spalatin writes, his legs were not yet quite strong enough to support him.

In the meanwhile, the deliberations of the allies in Schmalkald resulted in a refusal to accept the papal invitation to the Council. To the Emperor they sent the answer, that the Council, which the pope now proposed to hold, was anything but the kind which had been repeatedly demanded by the German Diets; they demanded a free Council, and this to be held in Germany, not in Italy.

Accordingly they did not regard it as necessary to discuss the articles which Luther had prepared for the Council. However, to their official Augsburg Confession, on the basis of which a religious peace had also been granted them, and to the Apology of this Confession, which Melanchthon had at that time prepared as an answer to the Roman refutation, they too now desired to add a declaration against the power and divine right of the pope. Melanchthon composed it in the spirit peculiar to Luther, although in a milder and more measured tone. Yet Luther's document received the certified approval of the most of the theologians present by their signatures. Luther published it in the following year. The war against the Turks and the new war with France did not permit the Emperor to think of forcing the Protestants to take part in the Council, and was contented himself not to allow such an assembly. Whether the pope, as Luther maintained, had secretly counted on this and rejoiced over it, may be a question of doubt. On the Concord, which had been concluded in Wittenberg the year before, and had then been laid before the various German Princes and cities, the seal was now stamped in Schmalkald, as the formula there agreed upon was signed by all the delegated theologians, and the princes also declared that they would abide by it. Over against the Swiss, who were not able to dismiss their doubts concerning the Wittenberg declarations, Luther virtually maintained the standpoint he had

taken in Meyer's letter. In this sense, he himself then wrote in the following December to those Evangelical towns in Switzerland, from which Bucer had brought the messages to Gotha; in the following year, in May 1538, he answered in a friendly spirit a communication of Bullinger, and in June sent to those towns another letter, after they had sent him an answer. It was his continual wish and prayer that as long as they did not yet entirely understand each other and know themselves as one in faith, they should at least be mutually friendly and expect only the best from each other, until the muddy water should become entirely clear. He acknowledged that among them was a pious little party who earnestly desired to do right and to walk aright; he rejoiced over this and hoped to God that, although there was still a barrier between them, God would in time effect a happy removal of all misunderstandings. But now also it was impossible for him to leave out of consideration those points on which an understanding had not yet been reached, and with good reason he surmised and expressed this also to the Swiss, that there were some on their side as well as on his, who would regard a union not with favor but with suspicion. He, himself, was still compelled to correct some misinterpretations of his doctrine, and he did this calmly; he said that he had never taught that Christ had to descend from heaven in order to be present at the Supper, but stated that the manner in which his body was truly given to the guests, he would commit to the divine omnipotence. But he also protested against the opinion that by his present attitude he had given up the doctrine so far held. And with this he continued to maintain a presence of Christ's body in the sacrament different from that presence, for the mere spiritual reception of Christ upon which the Swiss now also insisted. When Bullinger expressed his surprise that he still spoke of a difference in the mode of presenting the doctrine, he did not enter upon a further elucidation, and on the other hand, the Swiss communities, after his second message, made no further effort to bring about a better understanding. It was Luther's opinion that peace and friendship should be maintained with them notwithstanding the consciousness of existing differences. By this attitude he believed that he could pave the way for a further understanding and harmony, for which he continued to hope. Thus far then in these years after Zwingli's death the differences were harmonized, which to such an injurious

extent separated the Evangelical men of Swizerland and those of South Germany, who were to a greater or less extent influenced through them by Luther and the large Lutheran community, and which had occasioned such violent feelings on both sides. To such a degree had Luther himself at that time aided with an honest and earnest zeal, that he conquered many a suspicion in his own heart, searched for means of peace and restrained the troublesome zeal of his own friends and adherents, such as Amsdorf and Osiander in Nürnberg. As a significant event of these years, and as a proof of the same spirit and mind of Luther, we now yet add the friendly relations that existed between him and the so-called Bohemian or Moravian Brethren.

Before this time, after the Leipsic disputation, 1519, and then especially after Luther's return from the Wartburg, we had occasion to speak of a very promising, but merely transitory approximation between him and the large and influential community of Bohemian Utraquists, who, as followers of Huss and defenders of the Lord's Supper in both kinds for laymen, had separated themselves from the supremacy of Rome. Quietly and modestly, but with a deeply rooted reformatory zeal for the restoration of truly Christian life, these small congregations of Brethren had extended their influence and numbers, and had patiently suffered oppression and persecution. Luther later said of them, that he had found among them the great miracle, unheard of under popery, that they, turning their backs to human opinions, by day and by night, studied the laws of God according to their best ability, and were well versed in the Scriptures. But, as is clear from these words, it was especially the commands of the Scriptures, and particularly the commands of Christ, as they were expressed in the Sermon on the Mount, and those precepts which they drew from the example of the oldest Christian congregations, in the faithful and strict fulfillment of which they sought true Christianity. Accordingly, they sought to regulate and sanctify the congregational life by strict discipline. As yet they did not show any appreciation of the doctrines of salvation, which Luther had freshly announced, chiefly according to the testimony of the Apostle Paul, or of this, that before God faith alone justifies. They taught concerning the righteousness to which Christians should attain, rather as Augustin and the pious theologians of the Middle Ages had done. As a conse-

quence, they also lacked the freedom in the conception of moral life, and of the duties and blessings offered in this world, to which the Christian spirit of Luther, through that faith, had attained. On the contrary, they shunned the affairs of the world in a manner that induced Luther to attribute a certain monkish character to them. As in popery, their ministers lived in celibacy. Another peculiarity of their doctrine consisted in this, that in their anxiety for a spiritual conception, and through the influence of the writings of the great Englishman Wickliff, that were spread among the Hussites, the Romish theory of a transformation of the bread in the Lord's Supper was thrown aside, and did not even admit such a presence of Christ's body as Luther taught; they spoke only of a sacramental, spirituul, efficacious presence of Christ, and distinguished from it a substantial presence which his body had only in heaven.

With these Luther became more intimately acquainted soon after his return from the Wartburg. The evangelical minister, Paul Spiratus, who then was laboring for a time in Moravia, gave him further information concerning these zealous friends of the divine Word, with whom he, however, found much that made him suspicious, especially their idea of the Lord's Supper. They themselves sent him messengers, letters and writings. Luther, who at that time had to contend against not only the Romish theory, but also against doubt concerning the real presence of the body in the Sacrament, in the year 1523, in his book: "Concerning the Worship of the Sacrament," also opposed the views of the Brethren on this point, and pointed out to them other matters in which he could not agree with them. It was, however, done in the mildest spirit and with a warm acknowledgment of their good traits, especially their chaste and Christian life, which he had as yet not been able to effect in his circle. But they, and especially their Senior, Lucas, were offended at this. The latter published an answer, upon which Luther silently suffered them to go their own way.

At the same time, in which Bucer successfully prosecuted his efforts for peace, the Brethren again approached Luther. They gave him new explanations of the doctrines under consideration, and he acknowledged these to be in harmony with the truth as maintained by himself, although the language was somewhat dissimilar, and in substance also a certain difference between them

could be recognized. Thus, for example, they still distinguished between the presence of the body in the Lord's Supper and Christ's existence in heaven, so that they called the latter only a bodily existence. In substance, the views of the Brethren, which they indeed never explained very clearly, probably agreed in the main with those that Calvin afterwards promulgated. But Luther saw in them nothing of such essential character as to justify him in opposing them further, or to prevent him from maintaining friendly relations with these pious people. At their request, he issued in the years 1535 and 1538 two of their confessions, with prefaces by his own hand. In these he spoke especially of the very apparent difference of ecclesiastical usages and arrangements between their congregations and the Lutheran; these, he says, should by no means stand in the way of harmony; a difference of usages had always existed in the Christian churches, and owing to differences of circumstances and times, were unavoidable. He acknowledged that their circumstances to some extent justified the high opinion in which celibacy continued to be held by the Brethren, without enforcing it as a law.

Among the Brethren, the talented and active Senior of that time, John Augusta, was very zealous for the connection with Luther and the German Reformation in general. He repeatedly, also again in 1540, appeared personally in Wittenberg. Thus, in all directions, where he saw the power of God's word extended, the bonds of communion with Luther were knit.

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER TRANSACTIONS AND DIFFICULTIES IN 1535-'39. ARCH-BISHOP ALBERT, SCHÖNIZ, AND AGRICOLA.

WHILE these great and general interests of the Church always brought new work and cares for Luther, which, notwithstanding all his bodily sufferings, he assumed with his accustomed energy, his strength, as we noted in the previous years in reference to his preaching, no longer sufficed as it had done for his principal and regular professional duties. In his official capacity at the University, the Elector himself, zealous as he was for the advancement of the institution, desired him to be spared as much as possible. In the year 1536 he made a valuable endowment for him. In the official record of this, he says: "In these latter days the merciful God has richly and mercifully caused his precious Word to appear in a way intelligent to all for the comfort and salvation of all men through the teaching of our venerable and most learned and pious master, Martin Luther, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures, for which we render him eternal praise and thanksgiving; and besides this, other branches of knowledge, especially the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages have been promoted through the singular and exceptional talent and diligence of the most learned master, Philip Melancthon, as a means for the proper and Christian understanding of Holy Scriptures." He now gave to each of these two men 100 florins, in addition to their salaries as professors; Luther's, so far, had been 200 florins. At the same time, however, he released Luther from the duty of delivering lectures, and from all other official duties at the University.

However, Luther, in the same year commenced a new and long series of lectures, namely, the explanation of Genesis, to which he joined, as was his custom, copious and important expositions of the main questions of Christian doctrine and of Christian life. But he progressed slowly and with many interruptions; at times he explained only a few chapters in the period of a year.

The end was not reached until 1545, and they were his last lectures.

In his office as preacher, which he continued to perform of his own free will and gratuitously, he undertook, after his return from Schmalkald, and his recovery from his severe sickness, and during the enjoyment of health, at least for a time, even extraordinary and increased tasks. For he now again took Bugenhagen's place, who had been permitted to go to Denmark until 1539, in order to organize the Evangelical church there under the new king, Christian III. He also again delivered regular sermons during the week in addition to those on Sunday. During the week he preached, as Bugenhagen had done, on the gospels of Matthew and John; however, with repeated interruptions. Chancellor Brück, on August 27, 1537, reports concerning them to the Elector: "Doctor Martinus is preaching three times a week in the church; he delivers such powerful and splendid sermons, that it seems to me, as also every one else says, that he has never preached so powerfully before, and especially exposes the errors of popery, and a great crowd comes to hear him; at the conclusion of his sermon he prays against the pope, the cardinals and bishops, and for our lord, the Emperor, that God should give him victory, and draw him away from popery."

Among his literary works, he again, with great and persevering diligence, from 1539 on, took up that one which, in its kind, was the most important of his life, namely, his German translation of the Bible, in order to revise it thoroughly for a new edition, which two years later appeared in print. For this purpose he gathered a circle of learned colleagues around him, whose assistance he asked for, and with whom he held regular joint consultations. These were Melancthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruziger, Matthew Aurogalus, teacher of Hebrew, further, Chaplain Rörer, who read the proof; some from a distance also attended these sessions, as the learned Hebrew scholar of Leipsic, the theologian Ziegler. Luther's younger friend, Mathesius, who in 1540 became Luther's table companion, says of this: Doctor Luther came (to these sessions) with his old Latin and new German Bible, beside which he also always had the Hebrew text; Master Philippus brought the Greek text with him; Doctor Cruziger, beside the Hebrew, also the Chaldee Bible (i. e., the translation or paraphrase used already by the ancient Jews); the professors had with them their

rabbis (namely, the rabbinical writings on the Old Testament); previously, each one had prepared himself on the text, had looked over the Greek and Latin, in addition to the Jewish interpreters; then the president proposed a text and the others gave their views in order. It is said that during this work most interesting and edifying remarks, full of truth, were uttered.

As for the rest, Luther's literary activity was employed mainly on the great questions that would come into consideration at a Council. On his Schmalkald articles, which he published in 1538, there followed in the next year a larger publication: "Concerning the Council and Churches," one of the most powerful writings of the Reformer, and important especially because it shows how his idea of the Christian church, as a congregation of believers, also amid all the practical difficulties, was always firmly and confidently maintained by him. He complains that instead of the name congregation or assembled people, which the Greek New Testament word for church signified (*ecclesia*), the misleading and indistinct word *kirche* (church) had become customary among the Germans, even in the mouths of children and in the catechism. Thereby much trouble had been caused, because, as a result, the common people recognized the *church* as consisting of the pope, the bishops, priests, monks, etc. He held that the Christian church was the holy Christian people who believed in Christ and have the Holy Spirit, who duly sanctifies them by the forgiveness of sin and by personal purification.

As these works of Luther, and especially his uninterrupted work on the translation of the Bible, reminds us of his love for his German mother-tongue, and of his services in its behalf, we here also make mention of a request which he, in March, 1535, addressed to his friend Wenzeslaus Link, in Nürnberg. In it he suddenly leaps from the Latin, which was still the common language for the correspondence of theological friends with each other, to the German in these words: "I will speak in German, my kind friend, Mr. Wenzel;" then he requests that a boy be appointed to collect for him all the German pictures, verses, songs, books and songs of the master composers, which had recently appeared in Nürnberg. For he wanted to have more practice in the real, popular German. He also prepared quite a collection of German proverbs. This was handed down in manuscript form as a family heirloom, but was unfortunately sold some twenty

years ago to an English purchaser. Further, there appeared in Wittenberg, and probably from the hand of Luther, a little book on German names, written in Latin, and intended also for the learned, which contained, it is true, some strange blunders, but is a sign of the interest which such studies had for him, and is for us yet an interesting first attempt in this field of national science.

In the regular management and government of the Church in his province he occupied no official position. When in 1539 a consistorium for the electorate, and for the present only for matters referring to marriage and discipline, was established at Wittenberg, he did not enter it as a member; and it is certain that he was not by nature called or adapted for the business management of such an official body. But this was done with his advice, also, and in difficult cases the officers were instructed to refer to him. Without any official connexion with this consistorium, the public affairs of the church still received the benefit of his influential counsel. The immoral state of affairs also, in the worldly, civil, and social spheres of life, over which in the beginning of his reformation it was Luther's intention to extend his reformatory influence, at least in the way of a general awakening and warning, and which he afterwards rather seemed desirous to push aside entirely as something not in his calling, never entirely escaped his view and personal efforts. In 1539 he again wrote against the usurers as he had done in the beginning, concerning which action he, however, remarked to some friends that his book would touch the conscience of small usurers, but the great land sharks would laugh in their sleeves at him. And in publishing the Schmalkald articles he speaks at least briefly in the preface of "the innumerable and great things" which a truly Christian council would have to reform in worldly circles also: dissensions among the princes and states, usury and avarice which had rushed in like a deluge, and were regarded as proper, unchastity, gluttony, gambling, extravagance in dress, disobedience among subordinates, servants and workmen, "the arrogance of all trades, also of the peasants." At the same time he was ready to intercede for those who were in want or suffered injustice, with a modest request to the prince, or also with the sharp sword of his reproof for individuals.

It was Luther's indignation and zeal in such matters that now entirely and irreconcilably separated him from the Archbishop Albert, and influenced him to the most severe attacks against

him, after the latter up to the present time had always been careful to maintain certain respectable relations to him, and Luther had been restrained at least from taking the most vigorous measures against him. The case in question was a gross act of injustice done Hans Schöniz, also called Schanz, in Halle on the Saale. This man in the capacity of confidential agent, had for years been directing the public, and still more the secret, money transactions of the Archbishop, which his master required for palatial buildings, luxury, refined and gross, lawful and unlawful pleasures, and who had also loaned him large sums. The deputies of the Archbishopric complained of the demands for money made on them, and rightly suspected that the appropriated monies had been expended in an unlawful and fraudulent manner. They also became shy of Schöniz, on account of the secret "manœuvres," which he had transacted for his master. The latter assured him of his faithful protection. But when the deputies would vote for nothing in the shape of taxes before a proper account had been laid before them, he, in order to escape from the difficulty, sacrificed his agent. In September, 1534, he caused him to be removed as a prisoner to the castle Giebichenstein, on account of frauds which he was accused of having committed against the prelate. In vain Schöniz asked for a public hearing before impartial judges, in vain the imperial court issued an order favorable to him. A second order Albert answered by bringing the prisoner, a citizen of Halle, and member of a prominent business family, on the 21st of June, 1535, in Giebichenstein, before a court of peasants that had been collected in all haste from the neighborhood, and concerning whom it was reported in Halle that they were only to pass sentence on a horse-thief. The accused was allowed no proper defence, no advocate. By means of instruments of torture, a false confession was forced from him, and the condemnation to death immediately pronounced. He was only permitted to say to the assembled people that before God he acknowledged himself a sinner, but had not deserved punishment. Then he was quickly pulled up by a rope round his neck upon the gallows, where his body remained hanging until the wind shook it down in February, 1537. Albert confiscated his possessions. In this manner the highest Romish ecclesiastical potentate of Germany acted, who at the same time played the role of a modern Mæcenas for the arts and sciences.

While the officials of the city of Halle raised a protest against this treatment of their fellow-citizen, which Albert ignored, and the murdered man's brother, Anton, without success, was active for his honor and the family's rights, Luther was drawn into the affair because his table companion, Louis Rabe, on account of some remarks he had made soon after the deed, was threatened by Albert. Luther, himself, thereupon repeatedly wrote to the latter and openly declared that he was a murderer, and by squandering the possessions of the church had deserved a gallows ten times higher than Giebechenstein. For a time he was kept from taking further public steps by the Elector of Brandenburg and other titled relatives of Albert, who had applied to John Frederick in this matter, while Albert was seeking, or at least pretended to seek an easy compromise with the family of the murdered man. But when a young would-be poet, a humanist, in Wittenberg, named Lemnius, or rather Lemchen, went so far as to glorify the Archbishop in poetry, and "made a saint of a devil," and at the same time insulted some Wittenberg men and women in his verses, Luther, in 1538, read from the pulpit a short but most bitter declaration against the shameless versifier, as also against the Bishop, the object of his glorification, which then also appeared in print. And now it was impossible to restrain him any longer from openly taking sides with Schöniz in a lengthy publication. When the Duke of Prussia, for the sake of the honor of the house of Brandenburg, once again kindly sought to dissuade him, he answered that even from the noble house of David rascals had sprung, and princes should not disgrace themselves by unprincely vices. In the opening of his writing, he declares that a stone had been lying heavily on his heart, and this was its name: "Do not forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain," Prov. xxiv. 11. In it he exhibited the refusal and denial of justice, of which the Archbishop had made himself guilty, and at the same time fearlessly exposed the object of the secret expenses which the master had incurred through the agency of his servant, and concerning which the latter naturally could not render an account, especially those for the well-known carnal sins of the Cardinal, the house of ill-fame on his Morizburg in Halle, etc. He said that he himself did not judge, but only pronounced the judgment of the high, Heavenly Judge. To those who might possibly not be

satisfied with this, he declares: "I sit here in Wittenberg and ask my most gracious master, the Elector, for no other protection or mercy save common justice." Albert found it advisable not to answer.

Most deeply, however, was Luther aroused and troubled, especially during the last years of his life, by events he experienced in his own religious community, and even among his nearest associates and friends. The way of life, namely, the way of saving faith, had now been found again, and clearly placed in the light of day; and from this source, too, said Luther, must flow a truly moral life. And exertions were also made clearly and distinctly to emphasize this in the doctrine, and to defend it against new errors and perversions. But now differences arose also among those who had faithfully labored together in the establishment of the confession; a beginning of those doctrinal controversies that proved so disastrous for the Church after Luther's departure. And deeply did Luther again and again deplore the immorality and offences that proved that the faith, as it was spread by means of the Confession over extensive German territories, by no means dwelt in its purity and strength in the hearts of men, and did not produce its pure and legitimate fruits. But his own conviction, his own faith, was not thereby shaken: for were not, according to the Lord's own words, offences to come, and had not, even under apostolic preaching, heresies (1 Cor. xi. 19) been taught, and false teachers and deceivers arisen?

We have already seen in what a friendly manner Luther had again received Agricola in Wittenberg, who had thus far been living in Eisleben. He there secured for him a respectable salary from the Elector, so that he could now begin the work at the University so long desired, and at the same time engage in preaching. Now it became apparent that Agricola still insisted upon that doctrine of repentance, on account of which he had attacked Melancthon during the first church visitation in electoral Saxony. For the same reason a complaint against him was sent from Eisleben; Count Albert, of Mansfeld, whose service he had quit in so unfriendly and rude a spirit, spread the report that he was a restless and dangerous person. And now he published several sermons in Wittenberg, and circulated written theses that contained his peculiar doctrine. Luther himself regarded it his duty to express his dissent from these, and did this in the pulpit, but without mentioning the author.

Agricola now taught that the preaching of the divine law no longer belonged to the sphere of Christianity as such, or to the way of salvation prepared and revealed by Christ. Only the gospel concerning the Son of God, our Saviour, should here be preached and be employed to touch the hearts of men, and to expose their sins and transgressions against this Son of God. In this manner he sought to give the proper prominence to the principles of the Evangelical party, that God's grace alone, through the joyful message of Christ, brings salvation. But as one of the chief weaknesses of this talented, well-educated, and eloquent man, was a considerable measure of egotism, which had grown under the small appreciation accorded him in Eisleben, he exhibited this also in the manner in which he conducted himself in reference to his dogmatical peculiarities. And yet with all this he was not clear in his fundamental ideas, and not willing to risk too much in maintaining his theses, and yet would not really give them up.

He at first came to an agreement with Luther in statements that were satisfactory to the latter, and yet in a later publication again advanced his peculiar ideas. Now Luther issued a sharp answer to the theses of Agricola, and also against others who went much further, and whose origin is unknown to us. In Agricola he misses an earnest and ethical appreciation of the law and of the moral demands of God on us, through which the heart of the sinner, as he had experienced it in his own case, is first shaken and humiliated, in order to open the door for the words of grace, through which first it can be truly regenerated, revived and made happy. But, on a level with Agricola's statements, he placed the others that exhibited also looseness in reference to the contents of those demands and our duty, as the products of one line of thought and of our character, whereas, according to Agricola's opinion, the good desired by God should be developed in the Christian as the fruit of the word of grace. It happened in this case, as we have observed before, that the spirit he saw displayed in his opponents appeared to him now already in its full expanse, and in its most extreme and terrible consequences, and challenged his most earnest zeal. In addition to this, the controversy with one who had hitherto been his friend, caused him deep personal grief: "God knows," he says, "what trials this trouble has caused me; I almost died of anxiety before I issued my theses against him" (Agricola).

For a time the influence of the Elector, who honored Agricola, brought about a renewed reconciliation. Agricola humbled himself. He even gave his great opponent authority to write a recantation in his name, which Luther then did, in a manner offensive to Agricola, in a letter to his former colleague and opponent in Eisleben, Casper Güttel. Agricola was then entrusted with a position in the newly appointed consistory. But even then he could not desist from new expressions that showed the old spirit. Luther had now entirely lost confidence in him; he spoke with disgust, grief and ridicule of "Grikel" (Agricola), the treacherous man. Agricola himself finally made an accusation before the Elector against Luther, for having unjustly insulted him. The prince expressed to the accuser his displeasure at this complaint; Luther returned a sharp answer to this accusation; the prince commenced further investigations in the cause of the accuser. The latter then adopted a way out of the difficulty, which was opened for him by a call to Berlin; thither the Elector, Joachim II., who had adopted the cause of the Reformation, called him, because he was a renowned preacher. In August, 1540, he left Wittenberg. From Berlin he however sent, in order to make his position there tenable, an entirely satisfactory recantation. But Luther's friendship for him was for all time broken.

From another side the accusation had then already been made against Melanchthon, that in certain expressions he had departed from the paths of the pure doctrine.

We know from former occasions how his anxiety concerning the dangers which the separation from the great Romish ecclesiastical organization would bring with it, had carried him away to dangerous concessions in its favor, and how differently Luther acted, who, notwithstanding this, confidently adhered to his friend and co-laborer, Melanchthon, especially during the time of the Diet of Augsburg; and in later deliberations also, the same spirit was exhibited.

Now there appeared also, in Melanchthon's independent scientific and practical thinking some peculiarities that differed from Luther's way of teaching. He who had at all times maintained from innermost conviction, both in the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, as also in the first evangelical theological handbook, his so-called Loci, the fundamental doctrines of the evangelical men, that faith justifies and saves, sought still more than many

other strict confessors of that doctrine, to have the whole moral regeneration and the moral fruits, in which faith should manifest itself, emphasized. At the same time in connection with the gracious will and work of God, through which alone the change of heart and faith in the sinner was possible, he wanted to refer man also to the decision of his own will, so that it might not seem to be God's fault if the call to salvation was without result in a single case, and in order that some thereby might not be led into carelessness and others into despair. In addition to this, there appeared in his case an undeniable deviation in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Although he, at Augsburg, in 1530, had so strenuously opposed the Zwinglians, yet the teachings of history now made an impression on him, namely, that really, as the opponents maintained, among the old theologians not even Augustin had taught the real presence of the body of Christ in the manner of Luther, or even as the Romanists taught; and his own theological thinking brought him at least so far that he contented himself with general statements concerning the communion of the Saviour who had died for us, with the guests at the Lord's table, without making a definite explanation concerning the material essence of the body. Thus he teaches in his *Loci*, although in the formula of the Wittenberg Concord he, with Luther, went further.

In reference to the first point, a certain Pastor Cordatus, a staunch adherent of Luther, had already in 1536, raised complaint against him. His greatest fear in this respect and with good reasons was of the theologian Amsdorf, who, as he stood in a long and confidential intimacy with Luther, was then, and especially later after Luther's death, particularly strict in guarding the purity of Lutheran doctrine. But Luther was not willing that even on this account there should be a rupture or even ill-feelings between him and his Philip. Here his efforts were for conciliation, and he knew how to keep silence, as little as he departed from his own strict standpoint or was able to overlook the peculiarities of his friend, as they appeared already in the new edition of his book.

Besides we remember how Luther already during his sickness in Schmalkald, in 1537, had not suppressed his fear of a rupture that would break out in Wittenberg after his death.

CHAPTER V.

LUTHER AND PROGRESS, AND INTERNAL WEAKNESSES OF PROTESTANTISM.—1538-1541.

IN the great interests of the church, amid the threats of the opponents and the negotiations with them, Luther continued from one day to another to put his trust in God, who guides all things and does not permit himself to be thwarted, and mocks at man's devices and brings these to naught. Contrary to his expectations his hope for an outward peace had so far been fulfilled. And he was permitted to see the Reformation making vast strides within the German empire. Even a union with the Romanists, in which the Evangelical doctrines would have secured recognition, still appeared possible. These were results that had been produced by the inner power of the preaching of God's word under a surprising divine Providence in surrounding circumstances, fruits which he could enjoy without having expected them. Now, too, he was not inclined to make great plans of his own; and in reference to the separate phases of this historical development, also he did not evince such special activity as he had done in earlier years. But disharmony was not absent—stumbling-blocks and offences within the new church itself and among its adherents, visions of more distant, and possibly greater dangers, melancholy moods and excitement in the heart of the Reformer, who was now growing old, and was suffering and weary. The goal of his hope was victory, in which his cause should by degrees obtain the supremacy amid such developments and deliberations in church and state, and which victory he would probably not live to see, but the end which the Lord himself according to his promises, would make of the whole wicked world, and the future world, to which from hour to hour he expected to be called.

After the Schmalkald allies had refused to accept the Emperor's invitation to a Council, the zealous advocates of Romanism probably expected that he finally would make preparations for violent steps against them. He would not bring his quarrel with King

Francis to a final close; yet, in 1538, concluded with him an armistice for ten years, and during the same time his Vice Chancellor Held, in Germany, effected an alliance between the Roman Catholic princes of Germany over against that of Schmalkald. To this belonged, beside Austria, Bavaria, and George of Saxony, prominently also the bitter enemy of the Landgrave Philip, the Count Henry, of Brandenburg. Already, in spring, there was talk in Wittenberg of great preparations, ostensibly against the Turks, but which were probably directed against the Protestants; or, at least, it was feared that the Imperial army, after having conquered the Turks, would, according to Luther's expression, turn the spear against the Protestants. In this respect Luther had no fears; he did not believe in a victory over the Turks, and thought that even in this case the Imperial army would not permit itself to be used against them as little as it did a few years previous, after the victory at Vienna. He earnestly admonished the Elector, for the sake of the Fatherland and the poor oppressed people, again, as far as he was concerned, to discharge his duty in the Turkish war. On the other hand, he now no longer doubted the right of the Protestant States to resist the Emperor in a religious war. The Emperor, he said, would in such a war no longer be Emperor, but simply a slave of the pope. He appealed to the fact, that among the people of Israel also pious men had resisted the rulers, and the German princes had more rights over against their Emperor, according to the constitution, than they. He regarded it as grounded in the natural law of right, that a father should protect wife and child against public murder; and an Emperor who openly exercised unjust power he regarded as a murderer. In a public document, in which he exhorted the Evangelical pastors to pray for peace, he declares that he had no fears that the papists would carry out their designs, unless it was God's intention to inflict a miraculous plague. He feared only that this would bring about an endless war that would ruin Germany.

The Emperor, however, was not as eager, but more careful than his Vice Chancellor. He sent another ambassador to Germany, whose especial instructions were to turn aside an open rupture. This ambassador, during the deliberations in Frankfort, in April, 1539, consented to an agreement, according to which the suits that were yet pending in the Imperial courts in matters of religion

against the Protestants were to be suspended, and that, at an assembly of the German States, selected pious theologians and laymen should "deliberate on a proper and Christian union."

During these very days, on the 17th of April, after a brief illness, death removed Duke George of Saxony. He was succeeded by his brother Henry, who already, for years, to George's chagrin, had established Evangelical services in his small domain, and had received the heretics expelled by him. For he left no male heirs. Two sons he had already lost as boys. His son John, who was of one mind with him, had died childless two years before. His only remaining son, Frederick, was an imbecile, but was, nevertheless, married after his brother's death, and died a few weeks later. He was soon afterwards followed by the unhappy father and sovereign. Luther said of him, that he had gone into the everlasting fire, although he still would have wished him life and repentance. To us his end appears all the more tragical, since we must acknowledge the honest zeal with which, from his standpoint, he tried to serve God, and would have rejoiced to effect reforms in ecclesiastical life, and that, in spite of his zeal against heresies, he never was drawn into gross deeds of violence or cruelty. We still have from him some prayers and conversations on religion, composed and written by himself. He read the Bible, and when Luther's translation appeared, expressed the wish "that the monk would complete the translation, and then go wherever he would."

Thus then the old quarrel that was breaking out anew between Luther and the Duke, came to an end. In the whole domain the Reformation was immediately introduced by calling evangelical ministers, by edicts referring to the order of services, and by a church visitation according to the model in the electorate of Saxony. When Henry, with due ceremonies, received the oath of allegiance in Leipsic, he invited thither Luther and Jonas. The evening before Pentecost, the 24th of May, 1539, Luther delivered a sermon in the chapel of the same Pleissenburg in which he had once disputed with Eck before George, and on the following afternoon he delivered another in one of the city churches, not having dared to preach in the morning on account of physical weakness. Loudly he now proclaimed in his sermon, based on the Pentecost gospel, that the church was not there where the wild cry, "church! church!" was heard, without the Word of God, but there where there was love for Christ and his

Word, and when He himself dwelt in the hearts of men. He refrained from referring to the special state of affairs hitherto existing in Leipsic and in the country, or to the change which God had here effected. But in this connection we remember his words spoken in 1532: "Who knows what God will do before ten years have passed by?" However, only too soon the great men of the Saxon court and nobility, while receiving the confession of their new master, gave Luther cause to complain bitterly of their rapacity, religious indifference, unlawful and tyrannical encroachment on the rights of the church.

In addition to Saxony, the Electorate of Brandenburg also was already preparing to enter the Protestant ranks. The Elector, Joachim I., had clung to the old church so firmly, that his evangelical wife, Elizabeth, had fled to the Electorate of Saxony, where she became an honored inmate of Luther's house. When he died, in 1535, his youngest son, John, together with the Neumark, had joined the Schmalkald allies. Now, after deliberating long, his elder, more quiet and conservative brother, Joachim II., according to an agreement with his states and with the provincial bishop, Jagow, took the decisive step: on the first of November he publicly received the Lord's Supper under both forms from the latter's hands.

Under such circumstances, the Emperor decided to carry out the essential contents of the Frankfort agreement. He called a meeting at Spire, "to give matters such a turn that the tedious religious dissensions might finally come to a Christian agreement." On account of an epidemic that appeared in that place, the meeting was changed to Hagenau. Here it took place in June, 1540.

In the meanwhile, the active champion of Protestantism, the Landgrave Philip, had been guilty of an act that was better adapted than all the efforts possible on the part of the enemies to injure the reputation of the Evangelical church, and to embarrass its adherents. In early youth (1523) he had taken as wife a daughter of Duke George, of Saxony, but had soon regretted the hasty step, as she was of an unamiable disposition and possessed disagreeable peculiarities, and he had then indulged in unallowed excesses, as happened only too often with emperors and princes. The truly religious feelings he possessed had, at least, the effect in this respect, that the accusations of his conscience

tormented him; he had, as he now lamented, on that account not dared to go to the Lord's table except on one occasion since the time of the Peasants' war. But his religious feelings were not strong enough to conquer his passions. The Bible itself, which he diligently read, appeared to show him a way out of his trouble. As the Anabaptist fanatics had done before him, he made appeals to the Old Testament examples of Abraham and other pious men who had been permitted to have more than one wife, and that the New Testament contained no command to the contrary. With all his energy and stubbornness he firmly seized this idea, and clung to it, when, at the home of his sister, the Duchess Elizabeth zu Rochlitz, he became acquainted with a lady, Margarethe Von der Saal, and fell in love with her. Only by marriage could she become his. Her mother even demanded of him that Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon, or at least two of these theologians, and representatives of Electoral Saxony and of Ducal Saxony, should be present at the wedding as witnesses. He, too, regarded the approval of the theologians and of his chief ally, John Frederick, as necessary. First, he gained over the versatile Bucer, and in December, 1539, sent him with his commission to Wittenberg.

He appealed to the inner distress he was suffering, in which it was an impossibility for him to engage in a war with a good conscience and punish others' vices, and also to those facts from Scripture. To this he yet added the perfectly correct remark that the Emperor and the world permitted him and everybody else to live in open unchastity; hence, he thought, they prohibited what God permitted, and connived in cases where God had prohibited. Furthermore, the possession of two wives did not seem so very extraordinary in the eyes of the Christianity of that day. In particular it was said of the Christian Roman Emperor Valentinian II., and Philip too referred to this, that he had enjoyed this privilege. To grant such a permission was regarded as a prerogative of the pope.

Thereupon Bucer, on the 10th of December, brought back from Wittenberg an opinion of Luther and Melancthon to the Landgrave. Very decidedly they declared, that it was in accordance with the original creation, and also acknowledged by Christ, "that one man should not have more than one wife, and they, as preachers of the divine Word, had the command to

direct marriage and all human affairs according to the divine institution, and keep them there as much as possible, and to protect them valiantly from all offence." Impressively they also exhorted him not to regard, as the world did, unchaste actions as small sins; and without equivocation told him that if he would not battle against his evil passions, a second wife would be no relief. But beside all the admonitions and warnings they gave him, they thought that they too must acknowledge that "what had been permitted in regard to matrimony in the laws of Moses, the Gospel had not prohibited;" accordingly they indeed remained firm in maintaining that the original order in the church should be preserved as a law, but nevertheless regarded a dispensation for especial urgent reasons as possible even now. That Philip's was such a case they did not say; they desired that he should conscientiously consider the matter further. But in case he should adhere to his determination, they would not refuse him the dispensation, but only demanded that he should then keep the matter a secret, on account of the offence and possible abuse.

Luther, in after times, did not acknowledge this deduction from the Old Testament, and hence, also, not the admissibility of a double marriage for Christians. Friends of the Evangelical and the Lutheran church can only regret his decision at that time. With the thing itself the church has nothing to do. Instead of drawing from the moral character of marriage, concerning which the New Testament gives us sufficient testimony, the conclusions which the latter does indeed not explicitly state, Luther, at that time, clung to the letter, in which he of course did not find such words: at the same time he, with all the theologians of his day, failed to observe the difference of moral ripeness and extent of knowledge between the new covenant and the standpoint of the old, even as exhibited in its best representatives.

On this occasion, the Elector, John Frederick, was preserved from the error into which the theologians had fallen, by the exercise of the simple judgment of a Christian layman. He regretted that they had given an answer, and wanted to have nothing to do with the affair.

Philip, however, rejoiced over the decision, and now also received permission from his wife to take a second.

In the following March the Protestants again met for consultation in Schmalkald, in order to come to an understanding con-

cerning their standpoint in the efforts made for the settlement of church affairs. The Elector chose Melanchthon for this purpose, while Luther, at his own request, was spared. Then Philip, under some pretext or other, invited the former to Rothenburg, not far distant, on the Fulda. Arriving there, he, together with Bucer, on the 4th of March, 1540, was compelled to be a witness of the marriage of the Landgrave with Margarethe. Philip, a few weeks later, thanked Luther for the "means" that had been furnished him, and without which he would have fallen "entirely into despair." The name of his present wife he had before this time yet kept a secret from the Wittenbergers; now he announced to Luther that she was a virtuous maiden related to his own wife, and that he rejoiced that with God and in honor he was his relative.

Soon, however, the unprecedented event became known. The offence was no smaller among the Evangelical men than among their opponents who rejoiced. Above all, information concerning it was demanded by the ducal court of Saxony, to which Philip's first wife was so closely related, and which was just then also excited about an inheritance trouble with him. Philip's entire social and civil position was in danger; bigamy, according to the laws of the empire, was a heavy crime. Besides, Luther now heard, with indignation, that Philip's discomfort, to which they had thought it necessary to yield, had been exaggerated. The latter, since a perfect concealment was now no longer possible, desired to make his marriage public, and publicly to defend it. He even hazarded the presumption, that in case the allies would desert him in this cause, he would be able to secure the favor and indulgence of the Emperor. Disagreeable and painful discussions followed between him, John Frederick, and Duke Henry of Saxony.

In the meanwhile the day for the Hagenau meeting drew nigh. Thither, too, Melanchthon was sent by the Elector. But when on his way there, he arrived on the 13th of June in Weimar, where the Prince was tarrying, he was taken violently ill, and his end appeared speedily approaching. Terror and distress on account of the unlucky affair of the Landgrave oppressed him, as also the Elector in reproachful tone writes concerning him, "that Master Philip Melanchthon had, on that account, filled his soul with troublous thoughts," and that he was now lying between life and death. The Elector sent to Wittenberg for Luther. He found

the patient lying unconscious and as if already departed from this world. Filled with fear, he said: "O God, how the devil has shattered this instrument for me!" Then the faithful and manly friend approached his God in prayer for his much-beloved friend, by throwing, as he, himself afterwards said, "the sack before the door, and by rubbing his ears with all the promises from His own word." He exhorted and commanded Melanchthon to be of good cheer, because God did not desire the death of the sinner, but needed further services from him; told him that he himself would rather depart now; had food prepared for him when he was gradually becoming convalescent, and upon his refusal to eat, threatened: "You will have to eat, or I will put you in the ban." Gradually the patient improved in body and spirit. Luther could write to another friend: "We found him dead; by an undeniable miracle of God he lives."

Luther was then taken by his Prince as far as Eisenach, to consult with him in regard to the news that was to be expected there from Hagenau. At this place also he and the Chancellor Brück had an earnest discussion with the Hessian delegates. They insisted over against these that the negotiations which had been held between Philip and the theologians, and in reference to his marriage, should be kept like a secret of the confessional, and that he would have to be satisfied in case his second marriage would be regarded by the world, and in accordance with the laws of the country, simply as concubinage. He was thus forced to escape as much as possible, by general statements and ambiguous explanations, the questions that were generally asked. Personally he did not incur any further danger. But in his actions an uncertainty and indecision remained unavoidable, and greater and more lasting was the injury which the Evangelical cause thereby suffered.

The meeting at Hagenau called for no further action on Luther's part. It was there decided that the questions of religion and church should not be discussed until autumn, at a meeting to be held at Worms, after still further preparations; peaceable and wise men should be delegated from both sides for this purpose. Luther could then, toward the end of July, return home from Eisenach, dissatisfied, as he writes to his wife, with the Diet of Hagenau, where work and money had been needlessly squandered, but happy that Melanchthon had been brought back from the grave.

In Worms the deliberations, in which especially Melancthon and Eck took part, were again adjourned to a diet which the Emperor in person intended to conduct in Regensburg, early in the year 1541. Here a religious discussion was commenced on the 27th of April. Luther, taking into consideration the sufficiently authenticated opinions of the opponents, never expected much from such deliberations. He pointed to the innocent blood that already defiled the hands of Emperor Charles and King Ferdinand. But during the Diet of Worms the thought once more arose in his mind that if the Emperor's intention was honest, a German Council could be virtually made out of this meeting. He saw that the opponents were maliciously intriguing in secret, and feared that some of those who were of his faith, as for instance the Landgrave Philip at that time, made too light of that which was not a comedy between men, but a tragedy between God and Satan. But on the other hand, he rejoiced that the enemy's lies and intrigues, through their own silliness, would come to shame, and that God himself would bring about the great catastrophe of the tragedy. In reference to the fear expressed, he said that he, for his person, would not suffer himself to be enticed into anything against his convictions. "Rather than that," he says, "I would take the matter on myself again, and stand alone as I did at first; we know that it is God's affair and he will execute it; he who will not follow may tarry behind."

Between the Diet of Worms and of Regensburg, in 1541, in his accustomed severity, and with a vigorous energy that surpassed the usual measure, he took part in a controversy that was then being carried on by letters between Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, a zealous Roman Catholic, but much respected for his moral character by friend and foe, on the one side, and John Frederick and Landgrave Philip, the heads of the Schmalkaldic league, on the other. He published against the former a small book entitled: "Wider Hans Worst." The Duke had, namely, made the statement that Luther permitted himself to call his own Prince "Hans Worst." Luther, however, declared that he had never made use of this name either for friend or for foe, but now applied it to the Duke, remarking that by it was to be understood an unmannerly blockhead who wanted to appear smart, but spoke and acted absurdly and unwisely. But not contented with attempting to exhibit him as such a blockhead, he attacked him

as a profligate, who, while he slandered the Protestant Princes, and pretended to be fighting for God's ordinances, was living in open adultery, practiced arrogant tyranny and oppression, instigated incendiarism in the countries of his opponents, and the like. With his slanders on John Frederick and the Evangelical party, he could cry until he was hoarse or dead, and he would only answer, "Satan, thou liest; Hans Worst, how thou tellest untruths; O, Harry of Wolfenbüttel, what a shameless liar thou art; thou spewest much venom but thou dost accomplish nothing; thou slanderest much, but provest nothing." At the same time Luther's book became a defence of the Reformation and of Protestantism in general; here and not in popery the true and original Christian church was to be found. He himself, when he read his work after it had appeared in print, even regarded the tone as too mild; he thought a headache had kept his spirit down.

Just at that time he was compelled to succumb to another severe attack of sickness. He himself described it to Melancthon, who was then at Regensburg, as "an effusion in the head," combined not only with an oppressive dizziness, from which he was continually suffering, but also with deafness and insufferable pain, so that it had forced out tears, something that seldom happened to him, and he had prayed to God to put an end to his pain or an end to his life. A large effusion of pus from the ear in Good Friday week brought him relief, yet for a long time he continued to suffer and was weak. To his Prince, who had sent him his own physician, he, on the 25th of April, expresses his thanks, and adds: "I would have been glad if the Lord Jesus Christ would in mercy have taken me away, as I am now of little more use on earth." He ascribed his recovery to the prayers which Bugenhagen had offered for him during divine service.

While still feeling quite ill and suffering from this attack, he had to give his views in reference to the preparations for the religious discussion at Regensburg, and afterwards concerning its results.

Promising hopes for the victory of the Gospel seemed really to be justified here. In reality for once, peaceable and wise men had been selected even from the Roman Catholic side, and entrusted with the deliberations. Not an Eck, who indeed was a member of the colloquy, but the pious, mild and cultured theologian, Julius von Pflug, and the Counsellor of the Electoral Prince of Cologne, Gropper, both of whom earnestly desired reforms and harmony,

were the leaders; as papal nuncio, Contarini was present, a man moved by purely religious motives, and who had embraced a deeper, evangelical conception of the doctrines of salvation. Together with these, labored Melanchthon and Bucer. The questions most important from the Evangelical standpoint, namely, not those referring to external church matters and ecclesiastical power, but those referring to man's need of salvation, the plan of salvation, concerning sin, grace, justification, were placed in the foreground. And it was acknowledged in unison that the believing soul depends solely upon the righteousness of Christ, that is given us, and is not justified or accounted just before God through its own worthiness or works, but for Christ's sake. Never before and never afterwards did Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians approach each other so closely, yes, harmonize with each other on these fundamental points, as on this occasion. And the Roman Catholics in doing this had decidedly stepped from the basis of the middle and scholastic ages, over to the Evangelical; a step that becomes especially apparent when we compare the opinions adopted in the Regensburg discussion, with the Roman Catholic answer to the Augsburg Confession in 1530.

And yet we do not find that Luther was especially elated by the news from Regensburg. The formula there agreed upon seemed to him to be "a wordy and patched-up affair." Beside, the faith which alone justified, there was according to his view, too much said of the activity it should manifest; beside the righteousness, which was bestowed upon believers through Christ, too much was said of the claim to justification which they secured. He, too, accordingly taught and demanded such an activity and such a claim. But the way these sentences were placed side by side in this case, seemed to him to be of such a character as again to hide the importance which Christ and faith held in the work of salvation. And his chief objection we find expressed in a reference to Eck, who also had to add his signature to the formula; he, said Luther, would certainly never acknowledge that he had ever taught otherwise than he did now, and would accordingly know how to interpret the new opinions in the old sense. In this manner a piece of new cloth was put on an old garment, and the rent would become worse.

He was, however, spared from passing a decisive judgment on the adoption or non-adoption of an agreement. For this, as far

as it had been agreed upon in the discussion, found too much opposition among the Roman Catholic States; and in the colloquy itself, the members were no longer able to come to an agreement, especially when the questions of the Mass and transubstantiation came up. It thus came to naught on those points which contributed most to the glory of the external priesthood and church organization, and in which a dogma already sanctioned by a decree of Council would have to be abandoned.

On the 11th of June there appeared before Luther in the name of those Protestant States who were especially anxious for a union, a delegation from Regensburg, headed by Prince John of Anhalt, with the prayer that he should declare his approval of and use his influence in maintaining in force the articles agreed upon in the discussion, and that in reference to those upon which no agreement had yet been reached, some means for peace and tolerance might be devised. Luther agreed to such a tolerance in case the Emperor would consent that those points of the plan of salvation should be made the subjects of sermons, which some time would secure to the Protestants full liberty of discussing the still controverted articles there. But the Emperor would approve of the article only upon the condition that a Council should pass the ultimate decision on it, and in the meanwhile all controversial writings on religious topics should be prohibited, and from the Roman Catholic side, too, the opposition to this article was adhered to. Luther's own opinion was virtually this: that nothing was to be confidently hoped for, unless the opponents would give God the glory, and openly confess that they now were willing to teach otherwise than they had done: the Emperor would have also to confess that in the last twenty years he had according to to his edict caused the murder of so many pious people.

The colloquy thus remained fruitless. The diet, however, closed favorably for the Protestants, inasmuch as the Emperor, according to their wish, sanctioned the religious peace of Nürnberg.

The main cause that moved the Emperor to such moderation and compliance, was again the Turkish troubles. In reference to these Luther now again spoke earnest and mighty words to his people. He published an "Exhortation to Pray against the Turks," which taught and admonished the people to recognize in these a rod of correction from God, and at the same time why,

according to God's commands, they should march out against them. At this time, too, his hymn for the Christian congregation "Lord by Thy Word deliv'rance work, and stay the hand of Pope and Turk," etc., was composed. When a tax was imposed for the war against the Turks, he requested the elector not to exempt his little possessions from it. He would like, he said, if he were not too old and weak, to "go out in person with the crowds." Besides in 1542 he published a refutation of the Koran for the Germans, written years before, so that they should know what a terrible thing Mohammed's faith was, and should not be ensnared if, in God's providence, they should see the Turks victorious, or should ever be captured.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHER AND THE PROGRESS AND INNER OBSTACLES TO PROTESTANTISM, 1541-44.

THE Reformation, against which the Emperor Charles, time and again, had to forego all interference, and with which he was rather forced to seek a compromise, continued to spread still further in different localities. With especial joy Luther was permitted to greet its victory in the city of Halle, which had formerly been the favorite residence of Cardinal Albert, and the chief seat of his luxurious life, and into which now one of Luther's nearest and mentally best-endowed Wittenberg friends, Justus Jonas, entered as reformer and first evangelical pastor. The final decision to this result with the populace, the great majority of whom had long since been favorable to Luther, was given by the financial troubles which had played such an important and sad role in Albert's life. When in the spring of 1541 the city was to be taxed 22,000 florins for the purpose of paying his debts, the citizens agreed to this under the condition that their Council should appoint an evangelical pastor. Jonas was invited to come to the city, and as soon as he arrived received a regular call through the magistrate and Church Council. In the same Good Friday week in which Luther began to recover from his severe sickness, and Albert had taken part in the Diet of Regensburg, he for the first time entered the pulpit of the principal church erected in Albert's time, and which shortly before, at the instigation of the Archbishop, had been beautifully and splendidly renovated. Soon afterwards they succeeded in appointing evangelical pastors to the two other churches in the city. The new church organization of the city in general was the work of Jonas, and remained under his guidance. Luther, however, assisted his friend with his advice, and remained in confidential intercourse with him to his end. He did not attempt to hide his joy that "the old rascal" Albert was permitted to live to see this, and thanked God for exercising judgment on earth. The numerous strange relics by help of which twenty years before, the indulgence traffic, so hateful

to Luther, had been conducted, the Archbishop now wanted to exhibit in a similiar manner in his government residence, Mayence. Thereupon Luther, in 1542, published anonymously, but in a way that he wanted to be regarded as the author, the "New Gazette from the Rhine," which made known to the Christian people of Germany a whole series of hitherto unheard of specimens secured by his Electoral Highness, as, for instance, a piece of the left horn of Moses, three flames from the burning bush, etc., etc.; finally a whole drachm of his own faithful heart, and a whole ounce of his own real tongue, which his Highness had by his testament added to the collection; the pope, he said, had promised every one who would honor these relics with a florin, forgiveness for any and all sins ten years in advance. Luther now thought that over against such an exhibition, such sarcasm alone was in place. Albert kept silent.

At the same time the Elector John Frederick took a new, important, but also dangerous step, with regard to a bishopric, that appeared hazardous even to Luther. The bishop of Naumburg had died. The chapter, to whom belonged the election of a bishop, was accustomed in such cases to conform to the wishes of the Elector as their sovereign. Now, however, it elected the much esteemed Julius von Pflug, without consulting the wishes of John Frederick, who had deserted Roman Catholicism. The latter, because his rights had been infringed upon, now wanted to appoint a bishop of his own choice, and an adherent of the Augsburg Confession. His Chancellor, Brück, earnestly warned against this, and Luther could but second this, saying that although the papal crowd had hitherto quietly acquiesced in what had been done with ordinary priests and monks, they and the Emperor would not be content to have such things done with the Episcopate. The Elector thought this cowardly; he wanted to be braver and bolder than Luther. It is only to be regretted that his pious zeal lacked the wise consideration of these men, and that he was probably also prompted by his own political interests. He accordingly did not adopt the advice of the Wittenberg theologians, at least to submit the bishopric to the selection of Prince George of Anhalt, but chose Nicolas of Amsdorf, who was undoubtedly more satisfactory to him not only on account of his theological standpoint, but also because he could expect a more thorough submission to his sovereign in

his case, and would possibly be less offensive to the opponents, only because he was a nobleman and unmarried, than other Protestant theologians. In a grand and solemn parade he conducted him on the 18th of January, 1542, to Naumburg, before the members of the chapter there assembled.

Luther also was now gratified at the appointment of the Evangelical bishop. He took proper measures to induct him in a manner conformed to the gospel. According to Romish doctrine, as is well known, the Episcopate is transmitted from the Apostles by consecration, with the laying on of hands and anointing, which only a bishop can confer upon others, and only a bishop can then consecrate a priest or minister. Our Reformers could easily have continued their so-called Apostolic succession through those Prussian bishops who came over to them. But as they did not acknowledge any necessity for this in the case of ministers in general, they did not recognize it in reference to the new bishop. Luther himself consecrated him in the cathedral on the 20th of January, assisted by two evangelical superintendents of the neighborhood, and the first pastor and superintendent whom the evangelical congregation at Naumburg then already had, with prayer and laying on of hands, in the presence of the states and a multitude of people from the town and neighborhood. Previously it was announced to the congregation that here a real bishop had been appointed for them by the Prince and the states together with the clergy, and they were exhorted that they, too, should express their sanction by an amen, which then was loudly uttered. In this way at least the effort was made to conform to an order taught especially by the Church father Cyprian, according to which a bishop should be elected in a meeting of the neighboring bishops, and with the sanction of his own congregation. Luther justified the act in a publication "Model for Consecration of a True Christian Bishop."

Brück's fears, however, were well founded. The complaints about this act influenced also the milder opponents of the Reformation, and above all the Emperor. At the same time it became especially clear in this instance, what was observed elsewhere also, that the good and churchly disposition of the Elector only too frequently lacked energy and consistency, over against the attending circumstances and various other interests. For the new ecclesiastical adjustments necessary for the bishopric were

not attended to—outwardly, too, the new bishop was but poorly provided for. Luther complained that the electoral court undertook great things, and then “let them stick in the mud.” In addition to this, some secular men of high standing also, among the Protestants, exhibited a spiteful jealousy and envy at the honors and emoluments bestowed upon their theologians. For this reason Luther exercised the greatest prudence. He would not even accept the present of some venison from his friend Amsdorf, in order not to give the “centaurs of the court” an occasion for slander, although they, as he said, themselves devoured everything without any scruples of conscience. “Let them,” he writes to Amsdorf, “eat in God’s and somebody else’s name.”

Scarcely had then, in the year 1542, the appointment of the new bishop by the Elector produced its first exasperating impressions, when there threatened to blaze forth between the latter and his brother in the faith, and cousin, Duke Moritz of Saxony, who had succeeded his father Henry in the government—a contest which would necessarily more than anything else, endanger the standing of the Protestants in the Empire, and by which Luther was excited and moved in his innermost soul.

Between the ducal or Albertine and the electoral or Ernestine lines of the Saxon princes, beside other rights, there was especially in dispute, the sovereignty of the judicial district and village of Wurzen, belonging to the bishopric of Meissen. When the bishop of Meissen refused to hand over to the Elector the tax for the Turkish war collected in Wurzen, the latter, in March, 1544, speedily sent troops there. Immediately Moritz called out his own against them. Both continued their preparations, and were ready for a battle. Then Luther, in a letter of the 7th of April, which he had intended for publication, directed a message to them both and to their states, with hearty Christian earnestness, and in an honest, free and open spirit. He reminded them of the exhortations of the Scriptures for peace, of the relationship existing between the two princes as the sons of sisters—of the nobility on both sides, who were allied by marriage in all possible degrees, and of their citizens and peasants, who were so closely united by marriages, so that the war would not be a war, but a rebellion in a household; further, of the insignificant provocation of their wrath—just as if two drunken peasants fought for a glass of beer, or two fools for a piece of bread; of the disgrace and shame for

the gospel, of the joy of their enemies and of Satan, who would be delighted to fan this spark into a great fire. He himself would support by his prayers that one who, instead of engaging in violence, would show a conciliatory and righteous spirit whether this were his own sovereign or the Duke; and he should then confidently resist violence and use his spears and guns against the children of discord. To the others he announced that they had subjected themselves to the ban and to God's vengeance; he even advised those who were to fight under such warlike princes to desert as quickly as they could.

The Landgrave Philip, whose relations to John Frederick were still somewhat distant on account of the marriage affair, in this moment succeeded in affecting a friendly adjustment between him and Moritz. In this young prince, however, there rankled an ambition that would gladly have sought satisfaction at the expense of his cousin John and other Protestant princes, and also a force of will that far surpassed the other. Luther feared evil for the future. Then the domain of Duke Henry of Brunswick also fell in with the Reformation. Then the Landgrave Philip and John Frederick marched their armies against him, because he had oppressed the evangelical city of Goslar, and haughtily intended to carry out an ecclesiastical proscription which the Imperial court had decreed against it, but which had been suspended by the Emperor. The war against "Harry the Incendiary," Luther, too, regarded as justifiable and necessary, because it was for the protection of the oppressed. Wolfenbüttel, of whose impregnable fortifications the Duke boasted, surrendered through the fortunes of war, and the bravery of Philip, on the 13th of August, 1542. Luther triumphed that the stronghold of which it had been said that it could endure a siege of six years, with God's help had fallen in three days. He only wished the conquerors would be humble enough to give the honor to God. They took possession of the land, whose Prince had fled, and instituted an Evangelical church organization in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants.

Moritz, of Saxony, who tenaciously clung to the evangelical confession and to his prerogatives as the protector of the Church, not only continued with the reforms instituted by his father in the Duchy, but he also succeeded in instituting them peaceably in the bishopric of Merseburg. The chapter there was in 1544 per-

suaded by him to elect his young brother Augustus; and the latter, as he was not a member of the clergy himself, immediately transferred the functions that properly belonged to the bishop to George of Anhalt, the pious friend of Luther, who in the summer of the following year was consecrated in the same manner as Amsdorf, by Luther in conjunction with several superintendents, and with Bugenhagen, Cruciger and Jonas in his cathedral.

Something still greater and more important was going on in the archbishopric of Cologne. Here for once an Archbishop and Elector himself, the aged, venerable Hermann von Wied, from independent conviction, determined to institute a reformation on the basis of the newly recognized gospel. In the year 1543 he called Melancthon for this purpose from Wittenberg. The latter was called upon to labor there together with Bucer, who had the reputation of going too far in his zeal for a general union of the churches, and also of being, on his part, satisfied with indefinite statements concerning the Lord's Supper, even after the acceptance of the Wittenberg Consensus. Luther, however, engaged in the work with thanksgivings to God, facilitated the departure of Melancthon to that place, assured him of his utmost confidence, and rejoiced to hear from him of the Archbishop's uprightness, wisdom and firmness. In a similar manner the bishop of Munster began reformatory efforts in accordance with the wishes of his states.

Finally the Emperor, who since 1542 was again involved in a war with France, and needed for this a vigorous assistance from the German Imperial States, showed himself at a new diet held in Spires, in 1544, more friendly to the Protestants than ever before. At the close of the diet he not only promised to use his influence for a general Council that should be held within the holy Empire of the German nation, but, since the council was still an uncertainty, also agreed to hold another diet that should deliberate on the religious controversies. In the meanwhile both he and the different imperial states should prepare opinions and plans for a Christian union and a common Christian reformation. Before the convention of a Council on German soil had been consented to, the Archbishop Albert, who was now most bitterly opposed to the Reformation, had already referred to the diet of 1541 as a warning, because the poison of Protestantism would now be too effective; in a national German council he saw the danger of a

schism. On account of the decrees of Spires the emperor was severely rebuked by the pope, especially because he regarded it as contrary to Christian piety that laymen, and that laymen who adhered to condemned heresies, were to pass judgment concerning churchly and spiritual things.

The spread and power of Protestantism had reached a culminating point in the German empire which rendered it possible that it might become the confession of the great majority of the nation, and even that they would become a unit in adhering to it. Charles V., however, remained immovably faithful to his original goal, and may have even felt himself nearer it than ever before. By yielding as he had done he secured an army by means of which he was enabled already in September of the same year to make an honorable peace with king Francis, and in this it was secretly agreed upon between the two sovereigns to make a joint effort for the restoration of the Catholic church unity. The next thing was to persuade the pope in all sincerity finally to convoke a Council, which according to the emperor's idea, should serve this purpose, and then through this, force the final submission of the Protestants.

The possibility of the adoption of Protestantism by the whole nation could still have been hoped for, if that spiritual activity which had once been awakened by the great Reformer, and which he had to some extent also found present, had been maintained in the German nation in its fullness and power, and if the new spirit would have permeated and purged the masses, or at least the most influential classes and individuals who had embraced the new confession, and had stimulated them to struggle, work and endure. But from the beginning, the Reformer's complaints of a lack of energy in assisting him in his preaching the gospel and in attacking the Romish anti-Christ continually increased. Thus he again lamented, when he heard of the results in Cologne, Münster and Brunswick, that "among us many become bad and few good;" he applied to his own church the proverb: "The nearer Rome, the worse the Christians," and the statements of the prophets, according to which Jerusalem, the holy city, was always to be regarded as the most wicked. In his zeal he here accused the Evangelical congregations more severely than the Romish and papal foes would have dared to do, since the moral status in these, at least, was no better; but in the

former case he had to complain of especial ingratitude over against the especial blessings which God had showered upon them. Thus he continued to meet among the peasants the old stubborn indifference and dullness, among the citizens luxury and worship of mammon, among the Germans universally, intemperance, and other carnal lusts. He was especially grieved to find these traits in his own fellow citizens and hearers, his Wittenbergers; and most sharply he spoke against them in the cases of students, who, as he says, he saw were led astray to indulge in unchastity and other carnal lusts. In his eyes the government was in regard to this, altogether too forgetful of its high and divine purpose, the nature of which he had taught them. When the introduction and rigorous enforcement of church discipline was under consideration, he foresaw that it would be applied only to the peasants, but that the higher classes would be spared. Among the high courtiers, especially at Dresden, but also at the electoral court, he saw tyrannical centaurs and greedy harpies who preyed upon the reformation and disgraced it, and in whose midst a truly Christian government would become difficult and impossible even for a high-minded sovereign. Besides, before this, and now especially in later years, he had come in conflict with jurists, and even with acknowledged conscientious men, as, for instance, his colleague and friend Schurf, on various questions regarding which they thought they could not depart from the conception of canonical and Roman law, which he regarded as unchristian and immoral. He insisted especially that it was a violation of the divine order that they maintained the validity of marriage engagements which young people had made secretly and against the will of their parents. In view of this condition of affairs in the German and German Protestant people, he did not look for an absolute victory of the Evangelical confession, but with anxious forebodings he predicted for Germany heavy and destructive misfortunes, and also said that God would, probably, through calamities melt down the number of the confessors of the gospel, and would sift them.

Just at that moment when a decision of the great ecclesiastical struggle in Germany was in preparation, Luther felt himself compelled to tear asunder again the bonds of peace and mutual tolerance that had been formed with great difficulty between him and the evangelical Swiss. In them he had seen no reason for chang-

ing his opinion of Zwingli, or for forbearing to utter it. The Swiss, however, offended by such expressions, took up the defence of their honored teacher and Reformer, in a manner from which Luther concluded that they in every respect still clung to his errors. Besides, an irritating mistrust of Luther had never died out among them. In addition to this, Luther heard of injurious influences which the sacramental fanaticism was exerting in other quarters; thus in a letter from fellow-confessors in Venice, whose complaints of the evil effects of the controversy on the Lord's Supper on their congregations, in his eyes, pointed to a continued Zwinglian influence. Already, in August, 1543, he wrote tersely and openly to the Zürich printer, Froschauer, who had presented him with a translation of the Bible made by the ministers of that vicinity, that he could have no connection with them and did not wish to become a partaker of their blasphemous doctrines; he was sorry "that they should work thus almost in vain and still be lost." Now he found even in the plan for reforms prepared by Bucer and Melanchthon for Cologne, suspicious statements concerning the Lord's Supper, to which Amsdorf's criticism had drawn his attention; these indeed made no mention of the Lutheran expression concerning the substance of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, or, according to Luther's words, only "mumbled" about it. Yes, he heard it reported that his doctrine on this point had become doubtful even to Wittenberg and to himself. The occasion for this was the circumstance that the elevation, i. e., the old custom of solemnly lifting up the consecrated wafer, which was connected with the Romish idea of a sacrifice, and had thus far been retained, but interpreted in a different sense, and had lately been discontinued. After a period of excitement, Luther broke forth in September, 1544, in a publication: "Short Confession concerning the Holy Sacrament." It was not his purpose to give a new refutation of the false teachers—he declared that they had already been repeatedly proved by him to be open blasphemers—but his purpose was rather once again to give testimony against the "fanatics and enemies of the sacrament, Carlstadt, Zwingli, Æcolampadius, Schwenkfeld, and their disciples, and entirely and finally to break with these lost men."

Anxious rumors were afloat concerning polemics which Luther was about to commence against Bucer and Melanchthon also.

Melanchthon himself trembled; he feared he would have to go into exile. But not even against Bucer, whom Luther on this occasion called a "chatter-box," did he make any further demonstration. Against Melanchthon we nowhere find, not even in letters to intimate friends, an unkind or even threatening remark from him. He continued to confide in him also for later ecclesiastical deliberations. When he was urged to publish a collection of his Latin writings, he refused for a long time, as he says in the introduction from the year 1545, because there were already such elaborate books on Christian doctrine, as preëminently Melanchthon's *Loci*, which the latter had just then revised in accordance with his own taste and mode of thought. We must regret that Melanchthon in such embarrassing times did not more freely and courageously open his heart to his friend, whose affection remained for him at all times so large and warm.

About immediate results of his work and labor, to which he felt himself called and driven by the Lord, but in which, of course, his natural individuality also was strongly aroused, Luther to his very end never felt much solicitude. Rather by committing these all to God, he above all constantly looked toward that last goal to which God was surely directing all things, and which he saw in the immediate future. The confidence in the near presence of the great day on which God would cut short the whole terrestrial development, and would reveal himself with his perfected glory and the blessedness of His kingdom, was for him, as it had been when he began his struggle, a fixed conviction to the end of his labors. We discover therein the depth of his own longing, struggling and striving for this goal, as also his deep consciousness of how little the present, with all its achievements, could correspond with the purposes of God. His thoughts went beyond this world, while again it was just he who taught the Christians how to appreciate the moral duties of the world, and how they should enjoy its blessings with thanksgiving to God. He was always mindful that we could not know the day or hour, and warned against attempts at such calculations. But his expectation for a speedy arrival, he attempted to prove. With especial emphasis, he did this in a small Latin pamphlet during his last years, in which he treated of Biblical chronology and then of the principal dates in universal history. Starting out from the widely spread opinion derived from the Jews, of a great

world-week of six thousand years, on which an eternal day of rest should follow, he sought, by an ingenious calculation, to show that now only about one-half of the sixth thousand years had elapsed; and as, according to his chronology, the year 1540 was the 5500th of the world, the appearance of the end could already be looked for at the time his pamphlet was issued in 1541. Never, however, as was the case with so many others, did he permit himself to be enticed into practically dangerous air-castles through such hopes and wishes.

In this year he did not engage in any larger literary undertakings.

In addition to his continual polemics against the papacy and false doctrine, we have yet here to mention some peculiar polemical writings, which owe their origin to his displeasure on account of some shameless attacks of Jews on Christianity, and because some Christians had even been enticed by them. Already, in the year 1538, the announcement that in Moravia, a country rich in sects, "Jewish flies" had persuaded Christians to adopt the Mosaic law, had occasioned his open "Letter against the Sabbath Fanatics." In 1543 he attacked them more violently in a couple of publications, especially on account of disgraceful insults and fierce curses which the presumptuous Jews had indulged in against Christ and the Christians, and also on account of their usury, by which snares they caught the latter. He even thought that the synagogue in which they blasphemed and cursed should be burned, and they be forced to adopt some honest trade, or that they be expelled from the country.

With the grandest and most beautiful work of his life, the German translation of the Bible, he was busy until the end. After the second principal edition had appeared, he sought in the following editions of 1543 and 1545 to revise it, at least to some extent. The most important collection of sermons also that Luther has bequeathed to the world, he intended to enlarge and improve still more. After having made some changes already in 1540 in a number of sermons, he three years later issued under the editorial care of his colleague, Cruciger, in a new edition, his Summer Postille, which Roth had previously published. In this edition, for the first time, the sermons on the epistles were added.

We have already learned how much Luther amid his bodily

infirmities, even before the expected great end, longed for eternal rest away from the struggles and labors. He spoke of this calmly with deep earnestness, and often too with a pleasantry that was painful to the hearer or reader. Thus he answered the wife of the Elector, when she "carefully and diligently" had made inquiries concerning his health and that of his wife and children: "Thank God, we are well, and better than we deserve from God. But that my head frequently suffers is not surprising. Old age is at hand, which in itself is old and cold and deformed and weak and sick. The pitcher goes to the well until it finally breaks. I have lived long enough; God grant me the blessed hour that the rotten worm-bag may be put under the ground with its tribe, and become food for the worms. And I think that I have seen the best that I was destined to see on earth; for it seems to be becoming wicked. May God help his people, amen!"

CHAPTER VII.

DOMESTIC AND PERSONAL FROM THE LAST YEARS OF LUTHER'S LIFE.

As much as Luther repeatedly complained of his old age and increasing weakness, frailty and uselessness, his writings and letters not only at all times evince an unbroken strength and an inextinguishable fire, but also frequently enough a joyful, cheerful good humor, that he retained notwithstanding his sufferings, anxiety and chagrin. He himself, in fact, said that the multitude of his opponents, especially the fanatics, who continued to rise up against him, always made him young again. The true source of his strength he always found in his Lord and Saviour, who was strong in the weak, and to whom he would in faith firmly and contentedly cling. We are, however, fully justified in attributing an especially beneficial influence in this respect to that important period of his life and calling, which opened up for him since his marriage. When he speaks of his family, of his wife and children, he is always filled with gratitude toward God, his heart opened, he breathes a fresh and invigorating air amid his arduous labors and struggles. As during the Augsburg Diet he encouragingly reminded the Elector of the happy paradise that God had caused to bloom for him in his little children, he was permitted to feel and enjoy something similar in his own home. He regarded his home life also as a divinely appointed vocation; namely, not as if he, the Reformer, should in this regard accomplish or experience something extraordinary, but rather that in this state, instituted for all, but degraded by proud monks and priests, and disgraced by the lusts of men, he should serve God in accordance with the general duty of men and Christians, and should rejoice in God's blessings.

Five children were now growing up in his family. The birth of the first, John or "Hanschen," was followed in the troublous times of the year 1527, by that of his first daughter Elizabeth. But, as he writes to a friend, she bid him good-bye already after eight months in order to go to Christ, through death to life; and he expressed his astonishment that his heart had thereby become

so sick, almost womanish. In May, 1529, his loss was in part repaired by the birth of his little daughter Magdalena, or Lenchen. Then followed the boys, Martin in 1531, and Paul in 1533. The former was born but a few days, or probably only a single day, before the memorial day of St. Martin and the birthday of his father, and accordingly received the same name. By calling the latter Paul, Luther wanted to keep in memory the great apostle to whom he personally was so much indebted. At the baptism he expresses the hope "that God might raise up in the child a new enemy of the pope and the Turks." The last of his children was a daughter, Margarethe, who was born in 1534.

To the family belonged also an aunt of his wife, Magdalena von Bora. Formerly she had been a nun in the same cloister with her niece, and had there been supervisor of the sick-room. She was probably regarded by Luther's children something like a dear grandmother. She is the one called by Luther "Aunt Lene," in his letter of 1530, to his son John, when he says: "Give Aunt Lene a kiss from me;" and when after being convalescent from the dangerous sickness in 1537, he could start on his trip homeward from Schmaldkald, he writes to his wife: "Let the dear children with Aunt Lene thank the real Father." Probably soon after she died. Luther comforted her with the words: "You will not die, but fall asleep as if in a cradle, and when the morning sun rises you will again awake and live forever."

In the time just mentioned Luther had also two orphan nieces in his household, Lene and Else Kaufmann, from Mansfeld, sisters of the Cyriak whom we found with him in Coburg, and still another relative called Anna, of whom we know nothing further. In 1538 Lene was engaged to the worthy collector of the Wittenberg University, Ambrosius Berndt, and Luther had the wedding festivities prepared for her. Occasionally also Luther had nephews, who were students, in his house.

When the boys had become old enough to learn, he engaged a private tutor. We find at times young men occupying the position of amanuenses to him. In this capacity Veit Dietrich had accompanied him to Coburg. Later we hear of a pupil whom he kept in his own house, and even of two or more such. This, however, appears to have been too much for his wife, and in the autumn of 1534 Veit Dietrich on that account left Luther's house and table.

As was usual with other professors, Luther also, for a compensation, took a number of students as boarders into his house. Among these were especially also men of more advanced years, who desired to continue their studies in Wittenberg, and above all to form his acquaintance. Besides, he entertained at his house and table many guests, theologians and non-theologians, high and low, who in their travels called upon him.

The former cloister building served as a home for this large and increasing household. According to the orders of the Elector, which John Frederick confirmed, it was to be regarded as his property. The house, however, as the building had not yet been completed at the beginning of the reformation, was at that time in an unfinished condition, and also stood in need of other improvements. Its present architectural proportions were effected by a restoration in modern times. It was built against the fortifications of the town along which the protecting Elbe flowed. His own little room was in that part of the house, and was an addition built over the water above the ditch—of which, however, as he complains in 1530, he was likely to be deprived by the erection of works of defence, and which probably fell a sacrifice to them during his life. Only a large room in the front part of the building has become historical for posterity, and is called the Luther room. It was probably the principal family abode.

The young couple at first had only limited means for their maintenance. Neither had wealth. When Luther, in 1527, was dangerously ill, he could mention to his wife no other bequest except a cup which he had received as a present, and it happened that he would have to pawn this in order to secure money for his immediate wants.

Gradually, however, his income and possessions increased. Luther's salary from the University—he received no extra pay for his lectures—at the time of his marriage was increased from 100 to 200 florins by the Elector John, and John Frederick added to this another 100 florins. The value of a florin at that time was about equal to \$4.00 of our money. To this must be added an income consisting of produce. Occasionally, also, he received from the hands of the Elector extra presents, as a beautiful piece of cloth, a keg of wine, some venison, as a greeting; John Frederick, in 1536, sent him on one occasion two barrels of new wine, with the remark that it was this year's product



LUTHER'S JOYS OF SUMMER IN THE BOSOM OF HIS FAMILY.

from his own hills, and that Luther should judge of its quality by drinking it. As his portion of the parental inheritance, Luther received 250 florins, which, however, his brother Jacob, the heir of the real estate, was later to pay off to him by installments. In the year 1539, Bugenhagen brought him from Denmark a present of 100 florins, and two years later the Danish king gave him and his children an annuity of 50 florins. Luther never troubled himself about being able to get along, and with lavish charity gave away what he received. His wife kept together the means for maintaining the household, conducted it with busy, active, and energetic hands, and was inclined to enlarge and extend it.

In addition to the garden belonging to the cloister residence, they bought other garden ground and some land. In the year 1540 Luther bought the little farm Zülsdorf, or Zulsdorf, which lies between Leipzig and Borna (not to be mistaken with another of the same name), for 610 florins, from a brother of his wife, who was in straitened circumstances. His wife tried, since the market in Wittenberg was generally only poorly supplied, to raise whatever she required for her housekeeping on their own land, and this necessitated the employment of more servants who had to be supported. In the gardens, trees and hops were planted, and among the trees were also some of a finer character, such as mulberry and fig trees. Then there was a little pond containing fishes. On their land Catharine loved to rule and order in person. In Wittenberg, according to the general custom, she made their own beer, for which the cloister building had the privilege. We also read that she kept a number of pigs, and took part in selling them. Now and then Luther makes mention of a coachman among his servants. Finally, in 1541, Luther also secured the possession of a small house near his cloister home, as he was afraid that this would be sacrificed in the interests of the fortifications, and that he certainly could not bequeath it to his wife as a dwelling. Of the sum agreed upon he gradually paid off only a portion in the course of ten years.

In this domestic and married life the Reformer thus found rest and joy, and therein recognized his vocation as a man, husband and father. From the experience he himself had made therein, he says: "The world has, next to God's Word, no greater treasure than the holy state of matrimony; God's greatest blessing is to have a pious, kind, God-fearing, home-loving wife, with whom

you can live in peace, to whom you can entrust all your possessions, even your body and life, and who will be the mother of your children." He also calls the matrimonial state a life which, if it is conducted properly, overflows with good works. He indeed knows of many "quarrelsome and queer husbands and wives, who care nothing for their children, and do not heartily love each other." Such, he says, are not human beings; with them it is hell on earth. In these utterances concerning this life and his relations to it, there is a total absence of sentimentality, exuberance of feeling or artificial idealizing. It is as vigorous, hardy and according to the opinion of some, possibly a rude naturalness, but also fine, pure and deep; and with it is constantly combined a steady, hearty and open attitude to the divine Giver and Lord, to his will and his behests.

In reference to his children, Luther sought from the first moment to withdraw them from an evil, wicked and corrupt world, and dedicate them to God; we still have several letters from him in which he asks friends with great earnestness to become sponsors to one of his children, and to assist the poor heathen to become a Christian, or from birth of sin unto death to a blessed regeneration. When he made this request for his son Martin, to a young Bohemian nobleman in his house, he became so earnest in his speech that to the astonishment of those present, his voice began to tremble. He, however, said that this was caused by the spirit of God, for here a divine matter was under consideration which required reverence. In the natural, simple, harmless and joyful sports of the children, he saw already a precious creation and work of God. With a contemplative and glad heart, he could watch the play and enjoyments of his little ones; everything seemed to him to be done in such an artless and natural spirit. The children, too, he said, believe so artlessly and without doubting that God is in heaven and is their God and dear Father, and that he grants them eternal life. When he once heard one of his children prattling about this life, and about the great joy they would have in heaven in eating, dancing, etc., etc., he said: "These live the happiest and best, have only pure thoughts and cheerful conceptions." Seeing his little children sitting around the table, he was once reminded of the exhortation of Christ, that we should become like unto the children, and said: "O, Lord, thou art going too far in elevating these foolish children so high: is it



LUTHER'S WINTER PLEASURES.

right that thou dost reject the wise and dost receive the foolish? But our God has purer thoughts than we have; he must deal roughly with us; to use an expression of the fanatics, he must cut rough twigs and chips away from us, before he makes such foolish children out of us."

How childlike he would speak to his children, we know from his Coburg letter to his little Hans. He himself taught them to pray, sing and repeat the catechism. Concerning his little daughter Margarethe, when she was only four years old, she could write to one of her sponsors, that she had learned to sing sacred verses. His hymn, "From heaven above to earth I come," the freshest, most joyful and childlike song that children sing on Christmas, he composed after he had become a father who enjoyed the joyful festival with his children. (The hymn first appeared in 1535.) Then, following the custom of older sacred exhibitions, he would have an angel enter, who in the first verses would bring the children the glad tidings of great joy, and they would then answer with the verse: "Now let us all with gladsome cheer, etc." The words: "My heart for very joy doth leap, my lips can no more silence keep," reminds us of the old custom of accompanying the Christmas hymn with dancing.

Luther warned against passionate outbursts and harshness in the treatment of children, and, mindful of his own bitter experience which he had suffered in this respect when a child, was very careful himself. He could, indeed, become very angry and exercise strict discipline, and he preferred, as he says, a dead son to a misguided one.

There was no good high school in Wittenberg for the boys, nor could Luther himself devote sufficient time to them. He engaged, as has already been remarked, a young theological candidate as a private tutor. His son John even under this arrangement, met with difficulties in his education and training. He seems to have taken it too easy with himself, and the mother's love for her first born was too yielding. Luther then entrusted him to his friend Mark Crodell, the rector of the Torgau school, whom he honored highly as a grammarian and an earnest and strict teacher.

Among his children, his Lenchen, a pious, gentle, sensible child, who clung to him with her whole heart, was his especial favorite. We still possess a pleasant picture in which, according

to an old tradition, she was painted by Cranach, the family's friend. But she was taken from him by death in the bloom of her youth after a long and severe sickness on the 20th of September, 1542. What he had already felt at the death of his little Elizabeth, he now had to feel more deeply and sorely. While she was lying sick, he said: "I love her dearly; but, O God, if it is thy will to take her hence, I will be content to have her with thee." And to her he said: "Lenchen, my dear daughter, you would like to remain with your father here, and still would like to depart to the Father beyond;" and she answered: "Yes, my dear father, as God wills." And when she was in her last moments, he kneeled before her bed, wept bitterly and prayed for her salvation, upon which she departed in his arms. When she was lying in her coffin, he looked at her and said: "O dearest Lenchen, you will arise again and shine like a star, yes, like the sun;" and again: "In my spirit I am indeed joyful, but according to the flesh I am full of grief; the flesh will not be content; the separation pains me exceedingly. It is a strange thing that, although she certainly is at rest and it is well with her, we are yet so sorrowful." To the many who were mourning, he said: "I have sent a saint to heaven; O, that we would have such a death! such a death I would welcome this very hour." The same sorrow and the same exaltation above sorrow he expresses in his letters to his friends. Thus he writes to Jonas: "You will have heard that my dearest daughter Magdalena has been born again into Christ's eternal kingdom; and although my wife and I should only be joyfully grateful for her blessed departure, through which she has escaped the power of the flesh, the world, the Turk and the devil, yet the power of nature's love is so great that we cannot do it without tears and heart-felt sighs and even a severe death within us; so deeply and firmly the features, words and actions of the living and dying, the obedient and submissive child, are engraved in our hearts that not even Christ's death can entirely expel this grief." His son John, whom the sick sister was anxious to see once more before her death, had been called home from Torgau two weeks before, and he wrote in this connection to Crodell: "I would not that my conscience should later blame me for having neglected anything." But when the boy several weeks later, about Christmas time, influenced by his continued grief and by the tender words his mother

had spoken to him, wanted to leave Torgau for good and remain at home, his father exhorted him manfully to overcome his grief and not to increase his mother's sorrow by it, and to obey God who had sent him there through his parents.

The care for the children in external matters, and for the whole household, was for the most part committed to his wife, and he could confidently entrust this to her. She was a thoroughly practical, energetic woman, who found her pleasure in working diligently and in extending her sway over a wide field of labor. For him she cared in her way at all times faithfully and willingly. It must have had a beneficial influence on him amid his outward and inner sufferings and the violent excitement and storms within him, that he had found a helpmate of such an exalted character, vigorous constitution, and plain and solid understanding.

In grateful affection, Luther always clung to her with all his heart, and even the slander of lurking and malicious foes could cast no shadow on his life with her. He gives her this testimony in his Table Talk: "I have, thank God, been fortunate, for I have a good and faithful wife in whom a man's heart can place confidence." And further, he could say of her: "Käthe, you have a kind husband, who loves you; you are an empress!" In earnest and sportive words, he gives expression to his tender love for her; and the confiding, open-hearted and innocent relation between the husband and wife is apparent from the jocular and teasing words with which he would make mention of her little weaknesses. In his old age yet, and even in his last letter, he calls her his dearest, kindest wife and sweetheart; and, now and then, signs himself, "Your lover," and "Your old lover," but also "Your dear lord." Later in life he also openly acknowledged that his former suspicion that Catharine was afflicted with pride was ungrounded. He speaks of her in his letters as "Lord Käthe," calls her his "gracious" wife, and himself her willing servant. Once he declared that if he were to marry again, he would hew an obedient wife out of a rock, as he had learned to despair of woman's obedience. In a similar manner he spoke of the eloquence of his Käthe. Referring to her loving but exaggerated and anxious concern for him on the occasion of his last tour, he called her a saintly, careful wife. On account of her agricultural proclivities she had to submit to being called by him not only "The Mistress of Zulsdorf," but also by other titles, for he be-

gins his last letter thus: "To my dearest wife, Catherine Luther, Madame Doctor, Mistress of Zulsdorf, * * * and whatever else she may be." Even in later years the economical Catharine was not allowed to check the benevolent and charitable hands of her husband. From former years his friend Melanchthon narrates: "A poor man told him his pitiable story, and as he had no ready money, he took the money which his wife, who had just been confined, had received as a present for the christening of her child, and gave it to the man. God is rich, he said, and will give us more." Later, however, he became more careful, as he noticed that his charity was frequently abused. "Unworthy subjects," he said, "have made me sharp." How carefully and even anxiously he avoided every appearance of seeking presents or any other gain for himself is shown by his letter to Amsdorf. Previous to that he wrote on a certain occasion to the Elector John, who had made him a present: "Unfortunately I have more, especially from your Highness, than is in harmony with a good conscience. It behooves me as a minister of the gospel to have no superabundance, and I do not desire it. * * * I therefore kindly beg your Highness to refrain until I ask and beg myself." When he received the hundred florins from the King of Denmark through Bugenhagen, in 1539, he wanted under all circumstances to give half of it to the man for whom he had been working while absent. For his services as preacher in the city church he never accepted any remuneration; from the city he only now and then received gratis a little wine from the public cellar, and lime and stones for his new house. For his writings he accepted nothing from the publishers. Any anxious care and clinging to earthly possessions on the part of his wife, he strictly forbade, and also insisted that beside the many household cares she should not neglect the reading of her Bible. In the year 1535 he promised her fifty florins if she would read the whole Bible through, upon which, as a friend narrates, "she showed much zeal."

However, he himself, would from time to time, assist his wife in her household cares. In garden and farm work he, too, took pleasure, and from the very beginning he sent orders to friends abroad for plants and seeds for his cloister-garden. We read that on one occasion he and his wife fished in the little pond, and he expressed his joy that they had more pleasure with their few fishes than many noblemen had with their hundred scores of them.

For his household supply in linen, he had to order a chest in Torgau for his "Lord Käthe." For the fact that Catharine was zealous in arranging her house and the house of her great husband also outwardly in a worthy and becoming manner, the door of the Wittenberg Luther-house furnishes a beautiful illustration. According to her wish, Luther in 1539, wrote to a friend in Pirna, the pastor Lauterbach, for a stone, the frame of a house-door, for which he sent the measure. This door, hewn from sandstone and erected with the date 1540, has on the one side a breast-plate, on the other Luther's escutcheon above some small seals, which were neatly added in the manner of those days.

Thinking of the near approach of his end, Luther in 1542, wanted to provide for his wife by a last will. He signed over to her as a jointure, and for her free disposal the little farm Zulsdorf, the little house in Wittenberg, and his cup and other valuables, such as rings, chains and other trinkets, which he could now estimate at about 1,000 florins. By this act he wanted to express his gratitude to her as having always been "a pious, faithful and honest wife, loved, honored and respected by him," and by the blessing of God had presented him with and reared five children yet alive; and thereby, too, he wanted to provide, "that not she would have to depend upon the children but the children upon her, would honor and obey her as God had commanded." But then also she was to pay the debts which he still owed (probably mostly for the house,) and which would sum up to about 450 florins, because he had left no cash money in addition to his valuables. In making this provision he probably took into consideration, that according to the traditional laws the inheritance of a former nun who had entered matrimony was generally attacked in connection with the legitimacy of her marriage. Luther, however, would not bind himself in making his testament by legal formulas. He begged of the Elector to protect his legacy, and closed the document with these words: "Finally, I beg of everyone, because in this legacy or jointure I do not employ legal forms and words (for which I have reasons,) to acknowledge me to be the person I really am, namely, a public man of sufficient respect and authority, as is known in heaven, on earth and in hell, who is to be trusted and believed more than any notary-public. For if God, the Father of mercies, has entrusted to me, a condemned, poor, unworthy and miserable sinner, the gospel of his

dear Son, and has made me faithful and true therein, and has preserved and found me thus until now, so that many in this world have received it through me, and regard me as a teacher of truth, regardless of the pope's ban and the Emperor's, King's, Prince's, and priest's, and even the devil's wrath, then certainly in this minor matter I should be believed, because it is written in my well-known hand, in the hope that it will be sufficient if it can be said and proved that this is the true and well-considered meaning of Doctor Martin Luther (who is God's notary-public and a witness to his Gospel), proved by his own signature and seal." In this manner the testament is written on Epiphany-day, January 6, 1542, and Melancthon, Cruciger, and Bugenhagen witnessed with their signatures that this was really the meaning and will and handwriting of the venerable Doctor Martin Luther, their dear teacher and friend. After Luther's death the Elector John Frederick immediately confirmed the testament.

In reference to his domestics, Luther took care that they should not bring discredit upon him; "for," he said, "the devil kept a sharp eye on him in order to cast an aspersion upon his doctrine." To faithful servants he was kind, grateful, and patient. A certain Wolfgang, or Wolf Sieberger, whom he had already in 1517 taken as a servant to the cloister, an honest but weak man, who was not able to get along alone, he kept with him all his life, and tried to do something for his future maintenance also. It was with him that he once attempted to practice on the lathe, of which, however, we afterwards hear nothing. It was also his delight to joke in a friendly manner with him. When Wolf, in 1534, constructed an aviary, he forbade him this in a letter of complaint, in which the "good and honorable" birds entered complaint against this action; they beg of him to prevent his servant from doing this, or at least to see to it that Wolf (who was a drowsy fellow) would throw them seeds every evening, and should not get up before eight in the morning; else they would pray to God to let him catch frogs, snails, and other small animals, instead of birds by day time, and at nights cause fleas, bed-bugs, and other vermin to torment him; for why did Wolf not rather employ such wrath and watchfulness against the sparrows, jack-daws, mice, and the like? When a body servant, named Rischmann, in 1532, left him after many years of faithful service, he instructed his wife from Torgau, where he was then staying with

the Elector, to dismiss him "respectfully" with suitable presents: "Think," he said, "how often we have given something to unworthy subjects, and all was lost; therefore use this opportunity, and do not let such a good fellow go empty-handed. . . . Do not fail in this, and as we have a cup you know where to get something; God will give us again, that I know."

The personal intercourse with him was valued very highly by his friends, especially by those men who met at his table from near and far. Several of these have put in writing what they would hear from him on such occasions. The "Table Talk" of Luther, as it is printed now, consists mostly of the notes of Veit Dietrich and of Lauterbach who, before he was called to Pirna in 1539, had been as a deacon in Wittenberg, one of the most intimate friends of Luther's household, and a daily guest. These notes, however, have to a great extent been altered and mutilated by other hands. An edition of the original text, a portion of which has recently appeared in the diary of Lauterbach of the year 1538, will soon be published. We must also mention prominently John Mathesius, who, after he had studied in Wittenberg, as early as 1529, and then had become rector in Joachimsthal, continued his studies in Wittenberg from 1540 to 1542, and sought and found the good advantage of being received at Luther's table. Filled with the impressions of personal intercourse with the Reformer, he later, as pastor in Joachimsthal, in lectures, which afterwards appeared in print, from the pulpit to his congregation, pictured him accordingly, expatiated on his life, and added many of his sayings. He thus became his first biographer, who by his personal intimacy, and by his fidelity, warmth and sincerity, must always remain dear to the Church and the people of Luther.

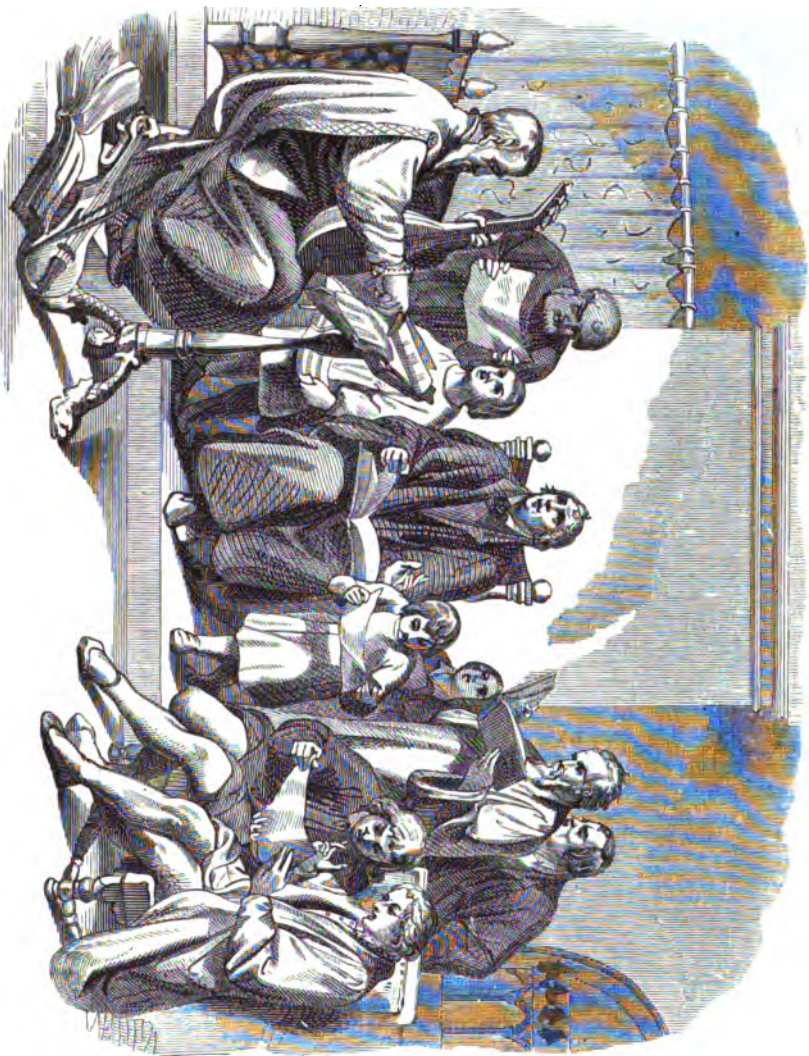
Luther would indeed, as Mathesius says, frequently bring profound thoughts with him to the table, and yet sometimes preserved his former cloister-like silence throughout the whole meal. It would also happen that he would engage in work during the meal, or that during meal-time or immediately after he would dictate explanations to priests who had to preach and had had no practice. But when the conversation had been begun it flowed freely and richly, and, as his biographer expresses it, in a cheerful and jocund style. The friends were accustomed to call Luther's conversation the seasoning of the meals. Thus,

by accident as occasion required, it would extend over spiritual and worldly things, over questions of faith and life, over the doings of God, and over human actions and the events of the past and present; it brought forth remarks, and short, practical hints for church-life and the ministry, and sentiments of the ordinary wisdom of life, and also proverbs and German poetical adages, which Luther himself also knew how to make. Good humor was blended with deep and even emotional earnestness. But in all this, the grandest thoughts upon the highest moral and religious truths, opinions and purposes were always brought out by Luther; and this in a uniform, peculiar, natural way of his own, without artificial effort or dictatorial spirit or inappropriate unction.

Here, as in his publications and letters, and even on the pulpit, at times expressions and allusions would fall from his lips which seem too unrefined for our ears. But it is, at least, an open, unpolished naturalness, nothing ambiguous or grossly vulgar. Indeed, his companions could praise Luther's "chaste mouth." "He was," as Mathesius remarks, "an enemy of unchaste and disgraceful talk; and as long as I was with him, I never heard an indecent word from his mouth." His intercourse was in strong contrast to the gross filthiness which he angrily rebuked in the monks, out of whose ranks he himself had come, and to the vulgarity which was indulged in at that time by so many humanistic, modernly trained, ecclesiastical and secular men in high station.

The table-talk was also favorably distinguished by an absence of malicious and frivolous gossip, which was otherwise not lacking in Wittenberg. Of those who delighted to spy out evil in their neighbors and gossip about it, Luther frequently said: "They are exactly like hogs, who do not care for the roses and violets in the garden, but only to stick their snout into the garbage." After the meals he, together with his companions and the children, would often practice music, church and secular songs, German, at times also old Latin hymns.

Luther also had a bowling-alley constructed for his young companions, and allowed them to indulge themselves running and jumping. On the alley he liked to roll the first ball himself, and submitted to being laughed at because he generally failed, but reminded his young people, that many a one who imagined he could do better and throw down the pins, missed them all, and that they should think of this in later life and work.



LUTHER SINGING AT HOME—INTRODUCTION OF THE GERMAN CHURCH HYMNS AND CHANTS.

In his own personal conduct toward God, Luther entirely adopted the way which he saw laid down in Christ's revelation and which he preached to others. The consciousness of his own unworthiness, and consequently also of his unfitness for salvation, never died out in him; and in this he fled with a simple, childlike faith to the love and mercy of God; and here he was sure of reconciliation and blessedness, of the victory over the world and the devil, and of the freedom with which a child of God can make use of the things of the world. He loved to adhere to simple, childlike formulas of faith, and to the ordinances in common use. It was his custom every morning to repeat with his children the ten commandments, the apostolic creed, the Lord's prayer, or some psalm. "This," he says in a sermon, "I do in order to remain familiar with them, and I will not permit mildew to grow upon them." He was faithful in attendance upon the church services; he who knew how to pray so fervently and impressively in his chamber, nevertheless said that praying with the congregation seemed much easier than at home.

Whatever high and even proud self-consciousness he could feel and express in his calling, and how much he had by nature, as Mathesius says, the heart and courage of a man, as plain and unassuming he was personally; and his biographer even calls him the most humble of men, who was ready to follow the good advice of his people. Fraternally he associated with his humblest fellow-citizens, and at the same time associated with those high in rank in the most dignified simplicity and freedom. Those in spiritual trouble, who complained to him how hard it was to believe, he comforted with the statement that with him it was not otherwise, and that he had to pray to God daily for an increase of his faith. He had special reference to himself, when he remarked that a great Doctor must always remain a pupil. The modesty that prompted him in the beginning of his reformatory work to place himself behind his young friend Melanchthon, he retained to the end over against the latter's chief dogmatical work, the *Loci*. When asked concerning good books for the study of theology, and for truly evangelical knowledge in general, he would name besides the Bible before others the *Loci*, or these alone. During the Diet of Augsburg, we learn how highly he valued the language of Brenz above his own. With reference to Melanchthon we here yet add an earlier public declaration of

Luther, from the year 1529; "I must root out the stumps and trunks . . . and I am a rough woodsman who must break the road and prepare it; but Magister Philip goes on quietly and gently, plows and plants, sows and waters joyfully." He concealed the fact how much all the others, not only with reference to breaking the road, but also all the planting and plowing, were dependent upon him, the typically original and powerful spirit, and how Melanchthon was stamping coin there, which had been dug out and brought into circulation by himself. In the later years of his life this modesty is joined by a painful feeling that he no longer possessed the same strength for his calling as formerly. His expression of this was often exaggerated, but certainly honestly meant: he felt thus because the anxiety to fulfill his mission continued in full vigor within him. He wishes at least to remain so worthy that God would still suffer him, an instrument grown worthless, post himself behind the door in his kingdom. During a severe sickness of his friend Myconius, he wrote to him that he would have to outlive him: "This I pray for, this I want; and may my wish be fulfilled, because this wish is not for my pleasure, but God's honor."

With childlike joy Luther also regarded God's gifts in nature, in the garden and field, in plants and animals. This finds a various and agreeable expression in his table-talk, and is found also in his sermons. Especially do we notice this in the spring. With regret he then on one occasion designates it as a well merited punishment for his past sins, that in his old age, on account of onerous engagements, he could not, as he would like and needed, enjoy himself in the gardens, with the budding of flowers and trees, with the birds, etc. On another occasion he says: "We would be satisfied with such a paradise as this, if only sin and death were absent." Immediately, however, he looks from this to another celestial world, where everything would be more beautiful, where there would commence and continue an eternal spring.

Of those gifts which God had granted our minds for the purpose of enjoyment and pleasure, music was the most highly prized and dear to him, and he even was willing to give it the second rank after theology. He himself was especially talented in this respect; he not only played on the lute and sang clearly with his apparently weak but penetrating voice, but could even

compose. He extols music especially because it expelled Satan and the evil thoughts he was wont to awaken, and because it made men milder and gentler. It satisfied, refreshed and cheered the heart. Besides, he pointed to the great miracle of God that the voice by such a small movement of the tongue and throat, according to the direction of the feelings, could produce such strong, powerful and pleasant sounds, and that there was such a vast variety of voices and languages among the many thousands of birds, and especially among men.

Pleasant company and social intercourse with others always remained for Luther the most agreeable and best means for natural relaxation and recreation. He expressed it himself, and was accustomed to direct the down-hearted who sought his advice to this as a remedy against their lonesomeness. In this, too, he saw an arrangement of divine wisdom and love. He often placed a friendly conversation and a good and joyful song together as weapons against evil and sad thoughts.

Notwithstanding his consciousness of his Christian liberty, and all his opposition to monkish scruples and sanctity, he never paid much attention to the pleasures and care of his body. Ordinary food always sufficed for him, and in the pressure of work he could forget eating and drinking for days. His friends were astonished that so robust a body could subsist on so little food, and of his contemporary foes no one dared to undertake to prove, or even openly to make the accusation, that in his own conduct he denied the zeal with which he was accustomed to rebuke his Germans for their eating and drinking. But his freedom he reserved to himself. In the evening he could say to his students at table: "You young fellows, you must allow the Elector and such old men like myself a large draught; we must seek our cushions and pillows in some soporific." Nor was a suitable beverage absent during his lively and mirthful social gatherings with his friends. He could even call for a good drink when he had received bad news; for he said that nothing was a better antidote to this than a Lord's Prayer and good courage.

His bodily ills consisted now principally of his troubles in his head, which never entirely left him, and from time to time increased to new attacks of vertigo and faintness. In the morning a weakness in the head and dizziness regularly appeared. Stone troubles also re-appeared in 1543 of a painful and dangerous char-

acter. Earlier already a sore had appeared on his left leg, which at that time seemed to be healed. When a new breaking-out had a favorable effect on his head, his friend Ratzeberger, the private physician of the Elector, induced him to apply a fontanel and keep it open. His hair became white. Long already he had been calling himself an aged and worn-out man.

His body, however, retained its peculiar attitude, with erect head and elevated countenance; his features, especially around the mouth, expressed more distinctly than formerly the mild firmness that had gone through struggles and sufferings. The pathos which later portraits exhibit was not apparent in reliable former likenesses, but rather a melancholy tinge. The deep fire and power of his spirit appears to have shown itself, without Cranach's pencil having been able to reproduce it, especially in his dark eyes, which were said to have attracted the attention of the old Wittenberg rector Pollich and the legate Cajetanus in Augsburg. The legate Aleander, in Worms, imagined that his eyes had the fire of a demon's, and which appeared to the Swiss Kessler to glitter like stars, so that it was scarcely possible to look at them. After his death another friend called them falcon's eyes, and Melanchthon found in the brown and yellow encircled pupils the courageous look of the lion.

This fire never ceased to glow in Luther. Under the weight of sufferings and illness, it burst out when a combat had to be fought, all the more violent into flames. Undoubtedly this made him more sensitive than formerly, and begat in him an impatient unrest amid the disquietude of this world. Calmly and hopefully he fixed his eye on that which is beyond.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LAST YEAR OF LUTHER'S LIFE, AND HIS DEATH.

FROM the time that the Emperor Charles had concluded the peace of Crespy with King Francis, he turned his attention as a sovereign entirely to the affairs of the Church. The pope under his pressure could no longer postpone the Council; a bull of November, 1544, convoked it for the following March in Trent. In reference to the Turks, the Emperor sought to get free scope by agreements and concessions. In 1545 he entered into negotiations with them, in which he was assisted by a French representative. The final result was, that the Turks left in his hands the fortified places along the border which he still occupied, but which had been demanded back by them, in consideration of a tribute and a cessation of arms for one year and a half. "In this manner," says Luther, "a war is conducted against those who for many years have been proclaimed the enemies of the Christian cause, and against which the Romish Satan by the sale of Indulgences has scraped together so much money and other booty without end!"

In the meanwhile, the Elector John had instructed his theologians to draw up the plans of reforms, which, according to the decrees of Spires were to be submitted. January 14, 1545, they transmitted to him a sketch from Melanchthon's pen. Luther headed the signatures. It was the last great document of peace from his hand. The sketch clearly and distinctly enunciated the principles of the Evangelical church, but expressed the wish that the Romish bishops should do their duty, and proposed that if they would permit and foster the pure gospel, their authority should be obeyed. It was too mild for the Elector. Chancellor Brück, however, assured him that Luther and all the rest were of one mind with Melanchthon, although "Doctor Martin's boisterous spirit" did not show itself in this document.

Here, too, Luther did not insist upon the most stringent expression in reference to the Lord's Supper, which he himself employed in the doctrine of the presence of the body of Christ in

the sacrament. Mention was there made only briefly "of the partaking of the body and blood of Christ," and of the object and blessings of this partaking for the soul and for faith.

But all the more violently and vehemently Luther just then thundered against the pope and popery, on which subjects the sketch had been silent. In January, 1545, he became acquainted with the letter in which the holy father in towering indignation cast reproaches upon his son, the Emperor, on account of the decisions of Spires. At first he regarded this as a forgery, a pasquille, until he was finally, especially by the Elector, assured of the authenticity of this and a similar letter, and was moved to public opposition against it. He thought that if the breve was authentic the pope would rather worship the Turks, or even Satan himself, than submit to reforms according to God's word. Accordingly he wrote his work "Against Popery in Rome Founded by the Devil." In this his boisterous spirit once more entirely gained the ascendancy; his wrath was poured out with more violent and reproachful expressions—probably stronger than in any of his previous denunciations of the Romish anti-Christ. The very first word of this book gives the pope the title: "The most hellish father." Luther was not astonished that the words "free Christian German Council" were pure poison, death and perdition to him and his court. He asks him, however, what the object of a Council was if the pope in advance presumed to change and tear apart the decisions of a Council, as his decrees loudly proclaimed. Under such circumstances it would be better to save the expenses and labor of such juggling legerdemain, and say: "We will worship and believe in your diabolical majesty without any Councils." This piece of rascality, which the pope designed against the Emperor and the Empire with his own convocation of the Council, was also nothing new; from the beginning they had practiced satanic wickedness, treachery, and murder against the German Emperor; and Luther also recalls to memory how a pope had publicly with the sword caused the noble blood of Konradin to be shed. In the admonition which Pope Paul III had there given to "his son," the emperor Charles, he had with pious mien referred to the example of the high priest Eli, who had been punished because he had not admonished his sons on account of their sins. Luther then refers him to his, i. e., the pope's real natural son, whom he was busily enrich-

ing with possessions. He asks whether father Paul had nothing to admonish in this one; it was well known how he himself, the unsatiable miser, together with his son, were abusing the possessions of the church. Further, he reproaches the pope on account of his cardinals and surroundings, who probably were in no need of admonitions, although they lived in shameless sodomitical practices. But indeed, the good son Carolus had been endeavoring to secure a happy peace and harmony in religious matters for the German fatherland, had desired a Christian Council, and as he had been mocked like a fool in this matter by the pope for four and twenty years, had finally sought to arrange for a national Council. This was his sin in the eyes of the pope, who would like to see all Germany deluged in its own blood; the pope could never pardon him for attempting to thwart this horrible intention. Luther in the introduction of his book indulges at length in such remarks, and finally says: "I must end here, for my head is weak and I have not yet come to the subject which I want to treat in this little book." There were three things, namely, whether it was true that the pope was the head of Christendom, that no one could judge or depose him, and that he had brought the Roman empire into the possessions of the Germans, as he was forever claiming and boasting. On these points Luther then again treats with extensive argumentation in his book. In treating the last point we once more hear him speak like a genuine German. He wishes that the emperor had let the pope keep his ointment and coronation, for not through these, but through the choice of the princes, a person became an emperor. The pope had not given one hair-breadth to the empire, but had rather by lying and deception and idolatry stolen constantly from it. The book concludes: "The Satanic institution of popery is the last calamity on earth, and the worst that all the devils could do with all their power. God help us. Amen!"

Cranach also issued a number of polemical and satirical pictures against the papacy, some of which exhibit a cynical coarseness, and among other things also represent to the Germans Konradin as he is being executed by the pope himself; further a German Emperor with the pope's foot upon his neck. Luther added brief German verses to these. One of the pictures presented to him, he, however, disapproved of, because it contained an insult to the female sex.

We have already heard how little Luther expected from a Council convoked by the pope. Naturally the Protestants could under no circumstances promise to submit to the one to be held at Trent. On the other hand their demand that the Council should be a free one, and Christian in their sense, was an impossibility for the Emperor and the Roman Catholics, for thereby not only an independence from the pope was meant, which the latter would not concede, but also a free return to the only rule of Holy Scriptures, with a possible opposition to tradition and the decrees of former Councils. The Emperor for appearance sake, then yielded somewhat to the Protestant States by arranging for a religious discussion in Regensburg, in January, 1546. In June 1545, he sent word to the pope that he could not pledge himself for a war against the Protestants before the next year. The Council was then really opened in December, 1545, without being participated in by the Protestants.

In the meanwhile the newly-opened gulf between Luther and the Swiss continued open to its whole depth, as far as he was concerned. Against his "Brief Confession," there appeared in the Spring of 1545, a pointed reply written by Bullinger. The effect of this could not be conciliatory; for, although the language contrasted favorably with Luther's as regards mildness, it boasted too much of this, while it (what *e. g.* Calvin, too, criticised in it) unjustly, exaggerated many things in Luther, upbraided him for this manner of expression, and aided nothing to clearing up the dogmatical difficulties. From the impression it made on Luther fears were again entertained even in regard to Melanchthon, who had still been corresponding with Bullinger in a friendly spirit, and especially was Melanchthon himself filled with anxiety. But now again Luther uttered no offensive, suspicious or irritating word in this direction. The Zürich men he would only answer briefly, and in passing, for he thought that he had written more than enough against Zwingli, and Œcolampadius, and did not want to embitter his old age with such proud and idle chatterers. Accordingly he later in a series of theses, with which in the summer of the same year, he answered a new accusation on the part of the Leyden theologians, he embodied one statement against the Zwinglians, that they and all the abusers of the sacrament who denied the reception of the true body of Christ in the sacrament, were truly heretics, and outside of the pale of

the Christian church. Through this difference of confession the Swiss remained excluded from the Schmalkaldian league now when it was to be tested by war.

Luther, in view of the dangers, remained firm in his trust in the God who had helped so far, and found in the latest signs of the times clearer indications of the end which God would cause to come. For now he saw in the disgraceful humiliation of the Roman-German empire, in reference to the Turks, a sign of its approaching collapse, as also in the impotency which the Imperial government exhibited over against minor quarrels in the empire. He said that justice and government no longer existed; it was an empire without rule. And he rejoiced, that with the end of the empire the last day, the day of salvation, would approach.

More deeply, however, than by all the threats of violence from the Romish side, and all the attacks on his teaching, which he considered refuted long ago by his arguments, he who is so often accused from Romish quarters of a lack of moral strictness on account of his doctrine of the plan of salvation, was continually aroused and excited by the condition of affairs in Wittenberg and in its University, against which years before he had already addressed words of reproof. We hear in this connection of the old excess in eating and drinking, of increasing intemperance and luxury, especially at weddings and baptisms, of pride in dress and indecent apparel of women, of tumultuous noise on the streets, of the actions of lewd women, by whom especially the students were morally ruined, of exorbitant prices, cheating and usury in business, also of the inactivity and carelessness of the government and the police over against immorality and unchastity. Things of which, universally and increasingly, complaints were made in German cities and Universities, became intolerable to the aged Reformer, who could not effect an improvement in this respect in his own immediate neighborhood.

In the summer of 1545 he was tormented by fresh attacks of calculus. On the festival of St. John, the torment of his life, as he writes to a friend, would have destroyed him if God had not willed otherwise, and adds: "I would rather be dead than have such a tyrant."

A few weeks later he sought recreation for body and mind by traveling. He first went with his colleague, Cruciger, through Leipzig to Zeitz, where the latter was to settle a dispute between

some ministers. On the way he was much pleased at his kind reception by different friends. In Zeitz he also took part in the official transactions. It was his intention to proceed on to Merseburg, for his friend, George of Anhalt, had seized the opportunity to invite him urgently, so that he, as we have stated before, could be consecrated by him. But the offence which he had taken at Wittenberg followed him on the way, and was still increased by much that he heard throughout the country about this city. June 28th he then wrote from Zeitz to his wife: "I would be pleased if I never again return to Wittenberg; my heart has become cold, so that I no longer like to be there. * * * I will, therefore wander around and eat the bread of a beggar, rather than embitter my poor old last days with the disorderly doings at Wittenberg, and have my hard labor in vain." He even expressed the desire that she should sell the little house, garden and land in Wittenberg, and settle in Zulsdorf; the Elector, he thought, would, for at least one year of his life that was coming to an end, allow him his salary, with which she could improve the property. This, if she wished, she could communicate to Bugenhagen and Melanchthon.

In this respect the excitement was, as could be expected, only transitory. In order to quiet him, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon were sent to him by the University, the Mayor by the corporation, and the private physician by the Elector. The Elector also gently reminded him that he should have previously announced his proposed tour to him, so that he might have been furnished by him with an escort and provisions. Those sent from Wittenberg, where they had met Luther, now attended the solemn consecration of George on the 2d of August, at Merseburg. Luther remained with the latter a few days yet as a visitor, during which time he also preached in the neighboring halls, and received a golden cup from the Council of the town as a present. The tour continued to be one of recreation. After he had paid a visit to the Elector at Torgau, at the latter's request, he returned on the 16th of this month to Wittenberg, where an attempt was being made by city ordinances to suppress the evils complained of by him.

He now also again resumed his lectures, in which he was still engaged on Genesis, and which he succeeded in finishing November 17th. He also preached several times in Wittenberg, in the afternoon, as it was no longer advisable for him to do this in the morning, on account of his physical condition. Further he

proposed to add to his first book against popery, a second, and also still thought of issuing a work against the sacrament fanatics.

With the autumn of the year he was called to Mansfeld to adjust a difficulty quite unconnected with theology. The counts of Mansfeld had for a long time before been contending about certain rights and income, growing out of their hereditary privileges in controlling the affairs of the church. Before this already they had been earnestly besought by Luther to become reconciled for God's sake. Now they finally agreed to ask him to attempt an agreement, for which they also gained the Elector's permission for him, although the latter would rather have seen him spared this labor. But Luther had throughout his life retained a warm and grateful heart for this his home. Although he labored for the whole German fatherland, still he called this his fatherland in a special sense. Although wearied with much labor, he immediately decided to assist them.

In the beginning of October, he and Melanchthon and Jonas went there without accomplishing anything, because the counts were compelled to depart for military service, before anything could be done with them. But he was ready for a second attempt.

In the meantime Luther hastily prepared a small work in reference to the duke of Brunswick, who three years previously had been expelled from his country by the Landgrave Philip and the Saxon princes, and now had suddenly attempted to regain it by force of arms, but was defeated by the forces of the allied princes and those of Mansfeld, and was compelled to surrender his person. For, induced by the chancellor Brück, and with the consent of the elector, Luther sent a message to the latter and to the Landgrave, and also published it, in which he warns against releasing such a dangerous prisoner, as Philip for different reasons was inclined to do, and thus tempt God. Behind him he saw the pope and the papists, without whom he would never have been able to make his incursion; it was at least necessary to wait until their secret purposes had been revealed. None the less he warned the victors against self-exaltation.

Once more then in the circle of his friends Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and several others, he celebrated the anniversary of his birth. And before that valuable presents of provisions had reached him from the Elector. He spent the time joy-

fully with them, but could not suppress gloomy apprehensions of apostasy from the gospel which would take place in many after his death.

In closing his lectures November 17, he said: "This then is the beloved Genesis; God grant that better work be done after me; I can do no more; I am weak; pray to God that he may give me a good and happy end." He did not commence a new course of lectures.

About Christmas, and in bitter cold weather, Luther again went with Melanchthon to Mansfeld. He was very willing, as he wrote to Duke Albert, notwithstanding he had much other work, to risk the labor and time in this undertaking, so that he could die joyfully after having first reconciled his dear sovereigns. But even now he could not bring the matter to a conclusion. His concern for the health of the ailing Melanchthon drove him away; promising, however, to come again. On his way back he again preached in Halle, notwithstanding the continuous cold weather, but remarked at the close: "Since it is so very cold, I will end here, and besides you have other good and faithful preachers," etc.

Full of concern he had brought his Melanchthon back. Now when the Regensburg religious colloquy was to be held, and a Wittenberg theologian to be sent, he begged the Elector not to employ Melanchthon again for this "useless and injurious colloquy," especially since there was no one among the opponents who amounted to anything. He wrote: "What would we do were Magister Philip dead or sick, as he really is, so that I have to be glad that I got him back from Mansfeld? He must be spared more hereafter, and he will do more good here in bed than there in the colloquy—the young doctors must now come forward, and take the lead after us." Concerning the opponents, he then stated, with reference to the deliberations yet entered upon by them: "They regard us as asses, who do not understand their blundering and silly designs."

The condition of his own health he describes in a letter of January 17th, in the following words: "Old, decrepid, dull, tired, cold, and now also one-eyed, I write." It seems that one of his eyes failed him at this time, of which we hear nothing further. Immediately after, however, he expresses the opinion that for an old man his condition was still tolerably good.

Melanchthon was released both from going to Regensburg as well as from the third tour to Mansfeld. Luther, however, ventured upon it in January. He now took with him his three sons, together with their private tutor, his secretary, so that they, too, could become acquainted with his dear Fatherland. When shortly before several students who ate at his table had heard of a strange and probably significant heavy stroke of a clock about midnight, he said: "Do not be frightened—this stroke signifies that I am to die soon; I am tired of the world, and therefore we separate all the more cheerfully, like a satisfied guest from a common inn."

On the 23d of this month he left Wittenberg, where he had preached for the last time on the last Sunday, the 17th. He reached Jonas, in Halle, on the 25th. It was probably on this occasion that he brought the latter as a present, the cup of fine, white Venetian glass that is still preserved in Nuremberg, with the Latin verse: "To Jonas, who is the glass, Luther gives a glass, himself a glass, so that both may know that they are like fragile glass."

Floating ice and an extensive inundation, and powerful floods, kept him in this city for three days. The very next day after his arrival he again preached. He reports to his wife, that he was consoling himself in the company of his friends, and enjoying their hospitality, until the Saale would subside. While pleasantly spending the time with his friends, he said to them: "My dear friends, we are splendid companions, we eat and drink together, but death will soon be at hand; I am now going to Eisleben and am going to assist in the reconciliation of my sovereigns, the Counts of Mansfeld; well, I know the disposition of the men; when Christ was engaged in reconciling our heavenly Father and the human race, his lot was separation and he had to die in his task; God grant that such may be my fate."

On the 28th the travelers, whom Jonas now joined, proceeded on, crossing the still dangerous river near the castle Giebichenstein, where the Saale in the vicinity of the city is forced within the narrowest bed, and thus reached Eisleben the same day where the counts of Mansfeld and several other men of rank were awaiting Luther. From the boundary line between the Halle and Mansfeld districts, a company of more than one hundred armed men, in heavy equipments, escorted him. Just before en-

tering the city he was seized by an oppressive attack of dizziness and faintness, in which he suffered pressure of the heart and had difficulty in breathing. He ascribed this to a cold, as he had just previously gone a distance on foot, and then, while perspiring, had reëntered the carriage. He felt, as he writes to his wife, February 1st, near the village Rissdorf, just in front of Eisleben, such a sharp wind from behind, striking his head through his cap, that he thought his brain would turn into ice. In this letter, however, he again made joking allusions to his wife, as his "dearest house-wife, Madame Doctor, Mistress of Zulsdorf," and the like. "But now I am, thank God, in a good condition, only that some good ladies annoy me with their kindness." Days after his attack he again preached in Eisleben.

Luther was assigned quarters in the Drachstedt house, which had been bought by the Council and was occupied by the town clerk, Albert.

The deliberations began immediately, and were conducted in the house just mentioned. But amid great difficulties and much disgust for Luther, they proceeded slowly. He tried several ways to effect a compromise. February 6th he sent a letter to Melanchthon, asking for a command from the Elector for his recall, in order to influence the counts in this way also, and on the following day, as he writes to his wife, he was already out of patience; but the lamentable condition of his Fatherland kept him back. He was astounded at the soul-destroying greed that influenced the contestants. But he was also indignant at the lawyers, each one of whom haughtily insisted upon his pretended rights; he also would now become a lawyer, and come amongst them as a disturbing spirit, who would put a limit to their pride by the grace of God.

Besides, the multitude of Jews whom he found in Eisenach and the vicinity were an offence to him. He did not want the counts to grant too many privileges to these who blasphemed Christ and Mary, who called Christians changelings, impoverished them, and probably would, if they could, slay them all. He as a child of the country also warned the congregation not to become entangled with them.

Amid all these deliberations he yet delivered four sermons, took part in confessionals and the Lord's Supper twice, and ordained two pastors.

To his wife, who was very anxious about him and his health, he wrote five times in two weeks, from Eisenach. To her he always writes in pleasant humor even when he has unpleasant things to communicate. The expressions he employed in addressing her, we have seen above (p. 484). He tells her how well he is provided for with food and drink. He reminded her of God whose place she was attempting to usurp, of the Smaller Catechism, concerning which she herself had once stated that every thing in it was said concerning her. He has also to tell her of dangers which had befallen him, amid all her concern. Namely, fire had broken out in the chimney in a room adjoining his, and on February 9th, as he writes to her, by virtue of her anxiety, a stone as long as a pillow and as broad as two hands had almost fallen on his head in order to smash him as in a rat-trap. He now expresses his concern: "If you do not cease your anxiety the earth may at last devour us and all the elements destroy us."

He kept up a steady correspondence from Eisleben with Melanchthon. To him he yet sent three letters, the last testimonials of his friendship for him. A letter "to his kind and dear housewife," and one to Melanchthon, "his most worthy brother in Christ," dated February 14th, are undoubtedly the last that he ever wrote.

In Eisleben ample provisions were made for the care of his suffering body. He also went to bed early in the evening, after having prayed fervently standing at the window as was his habit. The calculus trouble gave him no annoyance here, only he was strongly taxed and tired. His last sermon on Sunday, February 14th, he concluded with the words: "This and much more could be said concerning this Gospel, but I am weak and we will now be satisfied." He was much troubled because he had forgotten to bring with him a corrosive salve with which he kept open his fontanel and because this had almost been healed. He knew that according to the opinion of the physician this was dangerous.

Finally, however, his endeavors with his "sovereigns" were crowned with a success beyond expectation. Already on February 14, a compromise on the main point had been achieved, and the different members of the ducal family were themselves glad, and the young men and ladies of the two lines instituted amusements together. "Thus," writes Luther to his Kāthe, "it is evident that God is the *ex auditor precum* (the hearer of prayers.)"

He sends her some trout as a present from the wife of Count Albert. He announces to her: "We hope to return home this week, if God thus wills."

On the 16th and 17th of this month, the compromise on all the points in question was concluded in due form. This also embraced special arrangements in respect to the income of churches and schools, to which these owe a liberal endowment to the present day. On the 16th Luther said at table: "I will not tarry any longer, I will go to Wittenberg, and there die and give the worms a corpulent Doctor for food."

However, already on the morning of the 17th, his friends were influenced by Luther's condition to beg of him not to take any further part in the deliberations, and after that he did nothing but add his signature. To Jonas and the count's court preacher Cölius, who remained with him as company, he already expressed the opinion that it was probably decreed that he should remain in Eisleben, where he had been born, and before supper he felt a pressure in his breast, for which reason he was rubbed with warm cloths. He felt relieved by this, went to the table from his room down a flight of stairs into the family dining-room, because solitude was unpleasant to him, and was then in good humor with the others at the table, and spoke as was his custom both in cheerful as well as in earnest, thoughtful and pious words.

But as soon as he had returned to his room and had spoken his customary evening prayer, he again felt ill and oppressed. After having been rubbed again with warm cloths, and had taken medicine brought by Count Albert himself, he then lay down about nine o'clock on his leather-covered lounge, and enjoyed a quiet sleep for an hour and a half. Awakening, he recited the words (spoken in Latin) "Into thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast delivered me, O faithful God," and then went to his bed in the adjoining room, where he again slept until 1 o'clock, breathing regularly. Then he awoke, called to his servant to make a fire in the room, which was already very warm, and then complained to Jonas: "O Lord God, how ill I am; alas, I think I shall remain here in Eisleben, where I was born and baptized." Under this oppressive feeling he arose, walked into the other room without assistance, again commending his soul to God in the same words as before, walked up and down once more, and amid renewed complaints about the

pressure in his breast, he again lay down on the lounge. His two sons, Martin and Paul, who had before this been spending most of their time with relatives in Mansfeld, but had now returned to him (John was still absent), his servant and Jonas were with him all night. Now Cölius, who had remained at home, hastened to him; also the young theological friend of the count's, John Aurifaber, who was generally in Luther's company, together with Jonas and Cölius; further, the town clerk and his wife, two physicians, Count Albert and his wife, who was especially active in her care for the invalid; later also came a certain Count von Schwarzburg and his wife, who were visiting their friends at Mansfeld. The rubbing and the application of warm cloths and the medicines no longer afforded relief to the suffering Luther. He now began to perspire. The friends were ready to hope that this indicated a favorable effect, but he replied: "It is a cold, dead perspiration; I will render up my spirit." He then commenced in a loud voice to thank God that he had revealed his Son to him, whom he had confessed and had loved, and whom the impious and godless pope blasphemed. To God and to the Lord Jesus Christ he cried: "Take my poor soul into thy hands! Although I must leave this body behind me, yet I know I shall abide with Thee forever." Then he quoted Scriptures, and especially three times repeated the words in John iii.: "For God so loved the world," etc. After Cölius had yet given him a spoonful of medicine, he again said: "I depart, and will yield up my spirit," and three times, in quick succession, he repeated the words: "Father, in thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast delivered me, O faithful God." Then he became entirely quiet and closed his eyes without answering those who were applying the different remedies in his behalf and were addressing him. Jonas and Cölius, however, after his pulse had been rubbed with strengthening lotions, asked him the question loudly: "Reverende Pater (reverend father), do you abide by Christ and the doctrine as you have taught?" He then answered with a distinctly heard "Yes." Then he turned upon his right side and went to sleep. He continued to lie thus for a quarter of an hour, his feet and his nose became cold, and he drew a deep and gentle breath and was dead. It was on Thursday, between two and three on the morning of the 18th of February.

The remains, dressed in white, were laid upon a bed and then:

placed in a coffin hastily made of zinc. Many hundreds, high and low, came hither to view them. Already on the first forenoon a likeness of the corpse was painted by an artist in Eisleben, and on the following forenoon, by Luke Fortenagel of Halle. Fortenagel's picture is probably the original of those we see at various places under Cranach's name, and which perhaps really did come from Cranach's studio.

The Elector John Frederick, immediately insisted that the mortal remains of Luther should find their last resting place in Wittenberg. The Mansfeld Counts wanted at least to show them the last honors. After they had already been brought to St. Andrews church on the afternoon of the 19th, and a funeral sermon had been delivered on this day by Jonas, and another on the morning of the next by Cölius, the solemn funeral procession began its march on the 20th, at noon. At the head were a troop of light armed riders, about fifty in number, together with the sons of the Counts in order to escort the body to its destination. All the Counts and Countesses, together with their visitors, among whom were also a prince of Anhalt, the city officials, the school-children, and the majority of the populace followed as far as the gates of Eisleben.

In the villages on the road the bells tolled; old and young came to see. In Halle the coffin, after it had been received with like solemnity, was placed in the chief church of the city, during the night between the 20th and the 21st. Here a mask was also taken in wax. This was then set up in the library-room of the church like the image of a live person, in which operation, of course, improvements were made in the original features by the insertion of eyes and changing the mouth. This is of assistance to us in completing our pictures of Luther's external appearance, especially in reference to the high forehead which is not so apparent in Cranach's pictures of Luther, as in these the head is thrown back. The two representations of the dead Luther which we yet possess retain their value, although we must regret that other hands than those of the Halle painter and the artist in wax did not reproduce him.

On the 21st the body was taken to Kemberg also, after it had been received on the Saxon boundary line by representatives of the Elector. Not till the morning of the 22d did it finally reach Wittenberg. Here it was immediately and solemnly conveyed



LUTHER'S OBSEQUIES.

through the whole length of the town to the castle church. It was a long and sad train; at the head were the high representatives of the Elector, and the Mansfeld horsemen, and the young counts; behind the coffin the widow in a small carriage, together with other women, Luther's sons, and his brother Jacob, and other relatives from Mansfeld, then, the members of the University, city Council, and inhabitants of Wittenberg. In the church Bugenhagen delivered a sermon; Melancthon, who immediately after the reception of the sad news, had expressed his sorrow to his students in a public announcement, as representative of the University, delivered a Latin oration.

Through the whole Evangelical church the voice of lamentation re-echoed. Luther was lamented as a prophet of Germany, as an Elijah who had overthrown idolatry and had re-established the pure word of God. As Elisha called out to Elijah, Melancthon called to him: "Alas, departed are the chariot and the horsemen of Israel!" Fanatical papists, however, pursued him even after his departure with slander and lies; already a year before he died a silly story about his horrible death had been in circulation among them.

Luther during his whole life troubled himself but little about the praise or abuse of men, but rather according to the direction of his great teacher, Paul, by honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report he unwaveringly pursued the way on which he felt himself led from above. His historical picture also, when drawn in simplicity and truth, will always in itself testify to the worth of the great man, and will continue to contribute to the eternal purpose, for which he was willing to sacrifice body and soul, and also honor and fame before the world.

THE END.

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SIGISMUND'S BLUSH.

BY REV. G. E. W. SCOTT, D. D., FITCHBURG.

It was the remembrance of Sigismund's blush at Constance by Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, that, humanly speaking, saved the life of Martin Luther at Worms. To speak accurately, it was John Huss, in the fifteenth century, who helped to save Luther in the sixteenth century. "The angel of martyrdom is brother to the angel of victory." The courageous action and manly words of John Huss, at the Council of Constance in 1415, operated for the benefit of Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521.

The story of Sigismund's blush and its result may be new to many. Now, when Luther's name is often mentioned, in view of the four hundredth anniversary of his birth, it may be well to repeat it. John Huss was cited to appear before the Council of Constance to answer charges preferred against him. He felt convinced that a simple statement of the ground of his belief would relieve him of every charge of heresy. He, therefore, asked Sigismund, the Emperor of Germany, for a safe conduct to Constance and back to Prague. The Diet at Prague also asked for the pass. The safe conduct in the usual form was readily granted by the Emperor. In spite of this warrant of security Huss was arrested at Constance, and, loaded with chains, was brought before the Council and falsely accused. Refusing to recant his statement that the Word of God was superior to the authority of men, his death was determined. When on July 6, 1415, John Huss appeared before the Council to receive sentence of death, the Emperor was present, seated on his throne. As Huss in his final vindication spoke of the safe conduct he had received and which had been violated, he fixed his eyes steadily upon Sigismund. "A deep blush at once mounted to the imperial brow." No wonder the Emperor blushed.

John Huss died a martyr, but that blush of shame on "the imperial brow" became historical, and the means of saving Luther for his great work. When the great Reformer was asked at the Diet of Worms, in the presence of Charles the Fifth, Emperor of Germany, to retract what was written in his books and to say at once whether he recanted or not, he answered, "Well, then, if your imperial majesty and your graces require a plain answer, I will give you one of that kind without horns and teeth. . . . I cannot and will not retract anything, for to act against conscience is unsafe and unholy. So help me God, Amen." A discussion arising, the Emperor made a sign to end it. Luther then spoke the memorable words, "I can do nought else. Here stand I, God help me, Amen."

Luther's replies so greatly irritated the Italians and Spaniards in attendance upon the Diet that they asked Charles to revoke the safe conduct and have Luther burnt immediately. The Emperor deliberated for a day and then declared that while he condemned Luther's opinions, and believed all who had imbibed them should be punished in the future, he could not in honor disregard his safe conduct. "*I should not*," said Charles, *like to blush as Sigismund.*" So Luther lived to do his work.

It is a truth attested in many ways, and now brought vividly to mind in the story just retold, that the work which is performed out of obedience to God, loyalty to the truth and love for Christ and humanity, is that which not only effects immediate good but stretches far into the future, in that John Huss at Constance in 1415 works for Martin Luther at Worms in 1521. Let every reader, like John Huss, be a "hero for the invisible."

MARTIN LUTHER'S BOYHOOD.

BY B. T. HUTCHINS.

On the tenth of November, 1483, Martin Luther was born to a poor woodcutter of Elsieben. The next year the family removed to Mansfeld, and the father obtained employment in the mines. His wife was always a sharer in his works, never complaining of the rough features of their home life, but always thankful for the blessings which attended it. She was accustomed to help him carry wood to the furnaces, and, as soon as little Martin was able, he used to totter along by her side carrying his little fagot. Obedience, industry and the fear of God were the daily lessons of the lad's instruction. His father, having a great desire for his boy to acquire a good education, frequently carried him in his arms to the school, where he learned the Commandments and a great many sweet hymns. The boy made rapid progress in his studies, and when fourteen years of age he was sent to a famous school at Magdburg. Although the tuition at this institution was paid by the princes and nobles of the land, yet Martin at this time was so poor that he actually suffered for the necessities of life. His parents could do but little for him, and the boy pinched by hunger was compelled, on many occasions, to beg his food.

Having relatives at Eisenach, hoping that they would assist the boy in his eager desire for knowledge, he was removed thither, but, either through poverty or disinclination, they paid but little heed to the wants of the lad. At this school Martin Luther found three or four young students who were as badly off as himself, and these poor boys formed a little association of their own, and went from house to house singing hymns for whatever might be given them. Sometimes they would receive a morsel for supper, but not unfrequently their reward would be harsh and cruel words or blows.

One day when he had been severely treated, and was slowly returning to his humble lodgings, tired, sad and hungry, he stopped in the street and said to himself, "Must I give up my studies for a little bread, and go and work with my father in the mines of Mansfeld?"

As he said this, a woman stood at the door of a house, and overheard the remark. She had frequently noticed this poor scholar at church, and her heart had been touched by the sweetness of his voice and his devout behavior during the service. She called him to her door and asked the meaning of his sorrow. He confessed that it was hunger. She welcomed him within her beautiful home and gave him a warm supper. Her name was Ursula, and she has frequently been called the "pious Shunamite."

When Ursula's husband returned, and his wife told him the pathetic story of the young boy's life, he approved of what she had done and so pleased was he with the modesty and intelligence of the lad, that he was asked to live with them; and henceforth Martin found a comfortable and happy home with Conrad and Ursula. At a time when he knew not what would become of him, God opened the heart and house of a Christian family.

In this home Martin prepared himself for the University of Erfurt, which he entered with high hopes at the age of eighteen. He not only endeavored to excel in his studies, but he always aimed to have his heart right before God. Every morning he began the day with prayer, and he used to say, "To pray well, is the better half of study."

His father destined him for the law, and the young man was happy in the prospect before him. But how different were God's purposes for him! Up to this time Martin had never seen a Bible! The art of printing had but just been discovered, and there were no Bibles in the hands of the people. It was while he was at the University of Erfurt that he first saw this book. He was in the library one morning looking over the books, when he saw one written in Latin, called "The Bible." Luther turned it over and was surprised to find it so much larger than he had supposed, for he had often heard of this famous book. It is said that he opened it at the place where we learn that the parents of Samuel lent him to the Lord, and how the Lord spoke to Samuel and made him a prophet. His prayer that night was, "Oh, that God would give me such a book!"

Not long after this when he was returning from the University after paying his father a visit, a violent storm overtook him in the mountain. The thunder and lightning were terrific. Luther was frightened, and he fell on his knees and made a vow if his life was spared to devote himself to the service of God. The Romish Church taught that the best way to live and please God was to quit the world and shut himself up in a convent, and Luther, in order to fulfill his vow, determined to enter one of these religious houses.

His friends who had watched his splendid career at the University were very much distressed at the action of Luther. "It is an idle, unfruitful life you will spend there," said many; but he was in earnest, and one night he took leave of his books and studies, his friends and familiar scenes so dear to him, and went to the Convent of St. Augustine, where he humbly knocked for admittance and begged permission to live there.

The monks were astonished when they saw that it was the elegant scholar Martin Luther, and they were not slow to humble him all they could. "Come, it is not by studying, but by begging, that a monk renders himself useful;" and they gave him the bread-bags and sent him begging from door to door. Martin did everything that was imposed upon him; he fasted and did penance, and thought no sacrifice too great in order to become a saint and win a name in heaven.

He found, however, that the change of his garments had not quieted his conscience. But one day he met Staupitz, another monk, who explained to him the truth of the gospel and gave him a copy of the Scriptures. Luther soon left the convent, became a Bible student, and gave to his generation a version of the Holy Scriptures which still bears his name.

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